Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ed by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eG

n Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, H

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
11349

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digital Digitization-2024

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

Barnett Singer Gallieni's Colonial Training and World War I

Sherry E. Sullivan Lillian Gilbreth: Management's Unsung Theorist

David M. Bergeron Queen Anne and Masculine Readings of Jacobean History

Polly Carver Jordan Biography For and About Children

Margot Strickland Ghosting an Autobiography

Reviews
by Robert Thacker, Joy Logan, and Carol Morris Petillo

Reviewed Elsewhere

Books Received

Volume 18 Number 1 Winter 1995

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

biography
Issued Quarterly

DIRECTOR
CENTER FOR BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH
George Simson

EDITOR
Craig Howes
ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Stanley Schab
TREASURER
Larry Cross
MANAGING EDITOR
Paul C. Pinkosh
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
Marie-José Fassiotto, Chief
William Burgwinkle, Assoc.
CONTRIBUTING BOOK REVIEW EDITORS
Electa Arenal
Steve Bradbury
Michael Fassiotto
Elizabeth N. Goodenough
Mark Helbling
Adrienne D. Hytier
Gabriel Merle
Forrest R. Pitts
J.P. Roos
Shao Dongfang
LIBRARIAN
Renée Heyum
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I PRESS LIAISON
JoAnn Tenorio
Keith Leber

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS
Kiran Khan
Teresa Lui
BOARD MEMBER
Bambi Weil
Working Editorial Committee:
AMERICAN STUDIES
Floyd Matson
ART
Lewis Andrews
BIBLIOGRAPHER
Phyllis Wachter
CONSULTING EDITOR
Maxine Hong Kingston
EAST ASIA
Peter H. Lee
ECONOMICS
James Marsh
EDUCATION
Edward Beauchamp
GEOGRAPHY
Forrest R. Pitts
HISTORY
Jerry Bentley
G. Raymond Nunn
HISTORY OF SCIENCE
Philip Rehbock
LAW
Mari Matsuda

LITERATURE
Reinhard H. Friederich
Anthony M. Friedson
Miriam Fuchs
Mark Heberle
Alan MacGregor
MEDICINE
Virginia Nelson
MUSIC
Allen Trubitt
PACIFIC ISLANDS
Brij V. Lal
PSYCHOLOGY
William R. Perry
PUBLIC FIGURES
Neil Abercrombie
RELIGION
Robert Bobilin
ROVING EDITOR
Marc Pachter
RUSSIAN
Virginia Bennett
SOCIAL SCIENCE
Glenn D. Paige
SOUTHEAST ASIA
Stephen O'Harrow
SPECIAL PROJECTS
Marguerite B. Simson
WOMEN'S STUDIES
Nancie Caraway

Biography is a forum for all well-considered biographical scholarship. The aim of *Biography* is to stimulate the critical judgment of life-writing by presenting new information, sharper definitions, fresh interpretations, and well-argued evaluations.

For information on manuscript submission and subscriptions, see inside back cover.

Published by the University of Hawai'i Press for the Biographical Research Center.
© 1995 by the Biographical Research Center. All rights reserved. Manufactured in the U.S.A.
ISSN 0162–4962

♾ *The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials,* ANSI Z39.48-1984

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

113496
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Winter
1995

Vol. 18
No. 1

113496

biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

Abstracts of Articles

Barnett Singer Colonial Background and Leadership in World War I: The Tragic Case of Gallieni 1

A colonial background is sometimes seen as irrelevant for a technologically advanced conflict. But the career of Joseph Gallieni, a great French imperial figure, shows how that background helped make him a valuable strategist and leader for World War I. The tragedy is how he was underutilized in that war.

Sherry E. Sullivan Management's Unsung Theorist: An Examination of the Works of Lillian M. Gilbreth 31

Dr. Lillian Moller Gilbreth (1878–1972) was a researcher, a management consultant, a university professor, and a working mother. She advanced management theory by introducing a humanistic approach to the field of scientific management. She emphasized training, motivating, and improving the quality of life of the average worker long before these ideas came into vogue. As a consultant and university professor, she worked for the advancement of women, the handicapped, and older workers.

David M. Bergeron Masculine Interpretation of Queen Anne, Wife of James I 42

For the past one hundred years historians have dismissed Queen Anne, wife of James I, as impulsive, frivolous, and insignificant. This interpretation reflects a masculine-based ideology that has recently been challenged by a feminist-oriented reevaluation of Anne as a politically skilled opponent of Jacobean patriarchy. This more balanced view is supported by references to Anne from the early seventeenth century.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Polly Carver Jordan — Biography about Children for Children 55

Because today's children will be tomorrow's leaders, the writing of biographies especially for them is both a challenging and rewarding effort. There is the opportunity for influencing their young, impressionable minds by presenting the lives of heroes and heroines of an earlier period. In-depth, accurate research is vital, and material must be presented in such a way that the young reader will be drawn to identify with the subject of the biography.

Margot Strickland — Ghosting an Autobiography 65

The celebrity autobiography is a well-established literary genre into which an unsuspecting biographer may be lured by a subject eager for the resultant publicity and a publisher keen to make a quick profit from a popular book. The author details the subtle differences between straight biography and a "ghosted" book.

Reviews 69

Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English*
Reviewed by Robert Thacker

Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, editors, *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*
Reviewed by Joy Logan

Carl Rollyson, *Biography: An Annotated Bibliography*
Reviewed by Carol Morris Petillo

Reviewed Elsewhere 79

Books Received 91

Notes on Contributors 93

This journal is a member of CELJ the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *America: History and Life; Arts and Humanities Citation Index; Book Review Index; Historical Abstracts; International Bibliography of the Social Sciences; MLA International Bibliography;* and *Sociological Abstracts.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

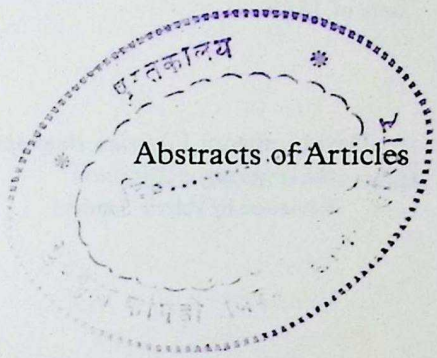
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Spring
1995

Vol. 18
No. 2

biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly



Abstracts of Articles

In Memoriam: Ruth Renée Heyum 95

Frank Donoghue Laurence Sterne and the Fantasy of Individual Patronage 97

Laurence Sterne is remembered as one of eighteenth-century England's foremost writers of prose fiction, but he spent the first twenty-two years of his professional life trying to advance in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church. This essay focuses on his crucial transition from clergyman to novelist, and argues that he first employed the same strategies for self-promotion in the new field that were typical in the old. But Sterne's association with the actor David Garrick, and his adoption of Garrick's techniques for relating to a mass audience, turned his career in a new, distinctly modern direction.

Richard L. Warms Africa Real, Africa Ideal: A. Gordon Laing and the Noble Savage 117

Much recent work in anthropology has focused on the positioning of the observer in the construction of texts. A. Gordon Laing's 1825 book of explorations is an example of the way in which an observer's preconceptions and home culture can influence observations. Though it provides interesting descriptions, Laing's work is prejudiced by his preconceptions. Laing, guided by romantic ideas of the noble savage and abolitionism, viewed groups as more or less desirable according to their proximity to Europeans.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

George M. Johnson

"The Caged Skylark": A Psychobiographical Portrait of G. M. Hopkins 134

A timely psychobiographical reevaluation of Gerard Manley Hopkins reveals that he suffered from manic-depression, with its accompanying characteristics. Through his poetry Hopkins attempted to adapt creatively to this condition, a strategy nowhere more evident that in the "dark" sonnets of 1885.

Review

David Amigoni, *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse*
Reviewed by Valerie Sanders 158

Reviewed Elsewhere 161

Notes on Contributors 188

This journal is a member of CELJ the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Summer
1995

Vol. 18
No. 3

biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

Abstracts of Articles

Marvin Rintala Weber's Wilson: Living Off Political Science 189

The external success of his political science career did not give Woodrow Wilson inner satisfaction. This failure can be explained by applying Max Weber's distinction between living off and living for one's work. Wilson lived off, but not also for, political science, which had for him only instrumental, not inherent, value.

David Felix Marx and Keynes: The Primacy of Politics 219

Karl Marx and John Maynard Keynes saw themselves correctly as great economists. Yet it can be shown that they were actively political beings whose political ends dominated their ultimate economic statements in *Capital* and *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* respectively, and indeed contributed both to the genial vision and the deep flaws in these works.

Pierre H. Dubé Chateaubriand and Gérard 228

The relationship between Chateaubriand and the painter Gérard, two giants of nineteenth-century France, is clouded in mystery. Conventional wisdom has it that their respect for each other was immense, and that Chateaubriand's selection of Gérard to paint the famous portrait of Saint Theresa was the result of his admiration for Gérard's genius. However, a close examination of the correspondence, memoirs, and journals of both men reveals that it was really their affection for Madame Récamier, more than any other factor, that was responsible for their association and for Chateaubriand's commissioning of Gérard.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Malcolm Saunders An Australian Pacifist: The Reverend Dr. Charles Strong, 1844–1942 241

The Reverend Dr. Charles Strong was the leading pioneer of the Australian peace movement. A Christian pacifist, his contribution to the establishment and growth of that movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was enormous. His involvement in peace-related activity spanned a period of the more than half a century from the Sudan campaign of 1885 to the Second World War.

Responses and Reviews

William H. Epstein, Embodied Knowing
Richard A. Hutch, A Response 254

Paul John Eakin, *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography*
Liz Stanley, *The auto/biographical I*
Reviewed by J. P. Roos 261

Alan C. Elms, *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology*
Reviewed by Amia Lieblich 264

Suzanne Nalbantian, *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Anaïs Nin*
Reviewed by Susan Pavloska 265

Reviewed Elsewhere 268

Books Received 281

Notes on Contributors 283

This journal is a member of CELJ the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fall
1995

Vol. 18
No. 4

biography

an interdisciplinary quarterly

Abstracts of Articles

Frank Shuffelton — Being Definitive: Jefferson Biography Under the Shadow of Dumas Malone 291

The term "definitive" is often used loosely, but by looking at the way in which Dumas Malone's six-volume biography, *Jefferson and His Time,* displaced earlier biographies of Jefferson we can better understand what this label might signify. Furthermore, by examining the relationship between Malone's work and subsequent biographies of Jefferson we can gauge the power of a definitive biography to shape, limit, or encourage later life studies of the subject.

Carole J. Lambert — Postmodern Biography: Lively Hypotheses and *Dead Certainties* 305

Traditional biographies, resembling the nineteenth century realistic novel, provide a unifying effect that postmodernists call a "metanarrative." This essay introduces French theoretician Francis Vanoye's observations about postmodern biography, analyzes Simon Schama's *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* as an example of this genre, and weighs the advantages and disadvantages of this innovative approach.

Scott Peeples — Life Writing/Death Writing: Biographical Versions of Poe's Final Hours 328

Given the prominence of death as a theme in Poe's fiction and poetry, as well as his career-long emphasis on "fact" as a textual construct, nothing could be more appropriate than a tradition of fabrication and speculation surrounding his own final hours.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gabriele Helms The Coincidence of Biography and Autobiography: Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* 339

A biography can also be read as an autobiography of the biographer-persona whose creation is recognized as a biography's core device. The case study of Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* shows how a profile of this persona can be (re)constructed as she writes her own self into the story of Charlotte's life.

Phyllis E. Wachter Bibliography of Works About Life-Writing 360

This year's bibliography of works about life-writing (the eleventh in the series that began with *Biography* 8:4, Fall 1985) reveals that people are using an increasingly wide range of life-writing mediums to struggle with a variety of political, social, familial, cultural, and psychological issues as the line between autobiography and biography continues to blur.

Reviews 369

Linda Wagner-Martin, *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography*
Reviewed by Annette Wheeler Cafarelli

Michael Sean Mahoney, *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat, 1601–1665*
Reviewed by Forrest R. Pitts

Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child*
Reviewed by Wendy Hamand Venet

Fred K. Prieberg, *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich*
Reviewed by William F. Scherer

Reviewed Elsewhere 378

Index, Volume 18, 1995 400

Notes on Contributors 402

This journal is a member of CELJ the Conference of Editors of Learned Journals.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BARNETT SINGER

Colonial Background and Leadership in World War I: The Tragic Case of Gallieni

Negative views of the imperialistic venture in its heyday (1870–1914) sometimes obscure an important fact: that certain military leaders trained in the colonies learned virtues there—idealism, improvisation, organizational abilities, tolerance, observation skills, people-handling—that could be useful in the military before and during World War I. It is easy to see military background in the colonies as irrelevant for a technologically advanced conflict in Europe.[1] To be sure, imperialism could bring to the fore bumblers, as for example the French chief of staff in the war, Joffre. More generally, it brought out the best and worst in characters liberated from normal European constraints. But what colonial army officers often shared was a strong sense of independence and a need for glory. Much of what they accomplished came in spite of Parisian regulations dispensed by often short-lived administrators far from the colonial scene.

Was Joseph Simon Gallieni (1849–1916) the colonial "type"? This would be hard to argue. He was certainly among the best and most renowned of France's colonial leaders,[2] and put to good use experience in the Sudan, Tonkin, and Madagascar when he became Governor of Paris at the outset of World War I. That he, rather than Joffre, was most responsible for saving Paris at the Battle of the Marne has become something of a commonplace—though still unknown to many lay people and too rarely acknowledged in general histories.[3] What makes Gallieni's case tragic is that despite age and exhaustion he might have saved France as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

well from what turned out to be its most Pyrrhic victory. As a great colonialist, Gallieni would have been a fine leader in World War I, had he been given a proper chance. That he finally became Minister of War was, as we will see, too little too late, and it hastened his death.

Older biographers exaggerate Gallieni's racial characteristics, particularly toughness from his mother's Pyrenean stock and some Corsican blood. Still, a multihued lineage helped dictate his future suppleness of character. His father was a Lombard born in Napoleon's Cisalpine Republic, the son of an enlightened friend of Volta, who chose France as his home in 1825. Captain Gäetan Gallieni then moved to Saint Béat, near the Spanish frontier, where he married. His famous son was born in 1849. Biographers mention the white marble surroundings known in Rome, linking this background and geography to Gallieni's subsequent Roman "fermeté." It is true that the boy used the mountains as his learning grounds en route to becoming the explorer he would call himself; school, however, did less for him.[4]

At the military college of La Flèche in the west of France, Gallieni matured into a type some would see as English in tone—and indeed, unlike many Frenchmen of his period, he would admire English writers, such as Mill and Spencer, and English virtues, as well as learn the language. Having heard Italian at home, Gallieni found it easier to absorb languages than the run of ethnocentric Frenchmen. And though he disliked aspects of La Flèche, he did win the Latin prize there.[5]

Just after entering St. Cyr, the War of 1870 caught him by surprise. In it he was proud to elude the Sedan capitulation, participating with naval infantry at Bazeilles, before being captured and imprisoned in Germany. Thanks to this imprisonment he learned German language, history, literature, and culture—an awareness that later went underutilized. He also got to know the captive Kitchener, whose career would somewhat parallel his own.[6] Liberated, Gallieni was marked deeply by the debacle, and perhaps for that reason chose the regenerating colonial milieu. His first posting was as a lieutenant of naval infantry to Réunion, where he spent three years in ideal surroundings. He always considered these years among the finest of his life (if untypical) and he began to be noticed as an officer of promise.[7]

The man who would become the model for so many, including Lyautey of Morocco, had several of his own, as he prepared in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1876 for his first colonial test. One was the great Faidherbe of Senegal; others were explorers like the Englishman Mungo Park, whose territory he would now get to see firsthand.[8] For Gallieni himself was to become as much an explorer as an "imperialist."

Dispatched to Senegal in December 1876, where the French only had a secure foothold on the coast, he was briefed and prepared for an expedition further into the interior. His mission was to move from Médine on the Senegal river through hazardous country to the valley of the Niger river. This region between Senegal and Niger had been largely shut off to whites since the expeditions of Park, who had died in 1805. Redefined by the French as the Western Sudan, it would test Gallieni's abilities not only because of jungles, mountains, and intense heat, but also tribal conflict.

Gallieni's chief adversary between Senegal and Niger was the King of Segou, Ahmadou, son of the founder of the Toucouleur-Moslem despotism that ruled mainly over Malinka and Bambara tribes. Most tribespeople loathed this imperialism, but unfortunately they were also caught up in loathing each other.

After being promoted to Captain in 1878 and getting firsthand knowledge of the region, Gallieni prepared his major expedition for early 1880. The idea was to woo tribespeople from Ahmadou by signing treaties of protection and friendship. Gallieni then hoped to procure what seems to be a Bismarckian contradiction —protectoral accommodation with the despot himself, assuming he could reach him.[9]

Gallieni's finest book, *Voyage au Soudan français*, complete with drawings of animals, chieftains, and tribal women, discusses this expedition. Reading it, one encounters first and foremost a great observer. Most obviously he had to observe different peoples—their customs, superstitions, fears, and loves. More than anywhere else the Sudan taught Gallieni to track changing data and to improvise—at times a life-saving skill. As an amateur anthropologist he had to learn in a hurry: that the Sarracolet tribespeople were commercial go-betweens of the region; that for some tribes green pigeons were sacred, for others certain species of snake; that the Peuls, European-looking Toucouleur leaders, had different subdivisions; that Bambara and Malinka women, more than in Europe, were "the things of the husband"; that the Bambaras and Malinkas could be pried away with gifts and protection from Toucouleur domination; that some Black chieftains

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were always sober, while others led all-night drunks on local *dolo*; that the region was rife with civil war, often from village to village; and that one village might contain proverbial barbarians, while in the next, inhabitants could be "gentle, reserved."[10] What Gallieni learned above all was to avoid simplistic generalizations.

In Sudan he also became an observer of nature, unlike some future war leaders who wouldn't even bother to test the mud or other elements before an attack.[11] He was Darwinian in descriptions of, among others, chameleons ("the habitual color of the chameleon is of a vivid green, which, modifying itself according to the nuance of the object on which the animal is placed, becomes dark or light yellow or olive . . . "). He enjoyed drinking water with "a whole flock of cute little does" in the vicinity, or hearing the "sonorous whinnying" of hippos by night. These observations stemmed from a love of natural beauty, but also of survival. It was a time when nocturnal lion attacks were always possible, when crossing rivers or rapids could mean death, when the first rains of the winter season ruined roads and brought life-threatening fever. (On this Gallieni expresses himself in characteristically quaint prose: "Winter season arrived very quickly [*à grands pas*], and with it the customary parade of fevers and maladies.") What he grasped above all else was that "the unforeseen plays such a great role in this land of Africa."[12]

The Sudan experience developed Gallieni's facility for assessing the character and worth of individuals. Pierre Gheusi, admittedly an acolyte, would remark that "it took him two minutes to measure the value of men."[13] Not that Gallieni was foolproof; like so many he did not see the true character of his Madagascar subordinate Joffre until it was too late.[14] But he did learn from the colonial experience how crucial the human element always was and how indispensable good people could be.[15]

To make treaties with difficult chieftains beset by rivals, Gallieni had to show he could protect them from Ahmadou's taxes or religious intolerance, and also from each other. Implementing such a policy required discerning in a hurry who had power and who was a figurehead; who was relatively trustworthy and who wasn't. He had to know what gifts to proffer and how much stealing to put up with (since it was omnipresent). What he saw between the Senegal and Niger rivers was how anarchy wrought by despotisms affected local populations. No snob, he had to measure each African for what he or she was; he had to go

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

beyond flattery and bizarre questions from chiefs who were "enragés discoureurs." He had to find the best interpreters and guides, some of whom he came to care for as much as the few Europeans with him. One Bambara was "a precious man as guide" who nonetheless had too much fondness for cognac—each morning on the trip he begged for some. Yoro, a Black cook and general aide, was "vain, a liar, and a thief," but very "débrouillard" and better than the French doctor Tautain when it came to the ravages of fever.[16]

Making order from disorder at high speed would be Gallieni's forte in the Paris region of 1914; and again, that ability was based on this colonial experience. At Goniokori and other villages like it he found depopulation and ruin in once prosperous areas. However hypocritical the French civilizing mission may sound today, Gallieni was sincere when he remarked: "It is for us now to substitute our benevolent influence." This meant breaking up extortion rackets that forced Bambaras, the best planters, to hide crops in case Toucouleur masters came to their villages. It meant working with chieftains and preserving their ways—the "politique des grands caïds," as Lyautey would call it in Morocco. "We don't want territories, tithes, or captives," nor to "tamper with chieftains, customs, or religions," Gallieni said, perhaps too idealistically.[17]

For the expedition that began February 4, 1880, Gallieni demonstrated another métier useful in 1914: *ravitaillement* (outfitting or stockpiling) of food, medicine, arms, presents, and the like—this time for an expedition, later for Paris and the military. His convoy would carry scarves, fireworks, music boxes, parasols, glassware, and sabres, not to mention guns! The convoy of hand-picked men—Senegalese *tirailleurs* (sharpshooters) and spahis, guides, interpreters, and two French doctors—manifested that same ability to prepare.[18]

I haven't space to show the series of improvisations and gambles Gallieni's expedition became, how many times death threatened (ambushes, six-foot boas dropping into campsites), or how skillfully and diplomatically he made treaties and friendships. Death came closest at two points—the first at Dio, where thousands of Beleris and Bambaras ambushed his already attenuated group and nearly massacred them, but for his guides locating a river ford, and escape.[19] The second was when the fevers of the rainy season hit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By that time, having passed the Niger, Gallieni was down to a few rounds of ammunition, out of presents and most pack asses, skinned by brambles or cliffs, his *tirailleurs* and spahis much reduced, and with the unreassuring knowledge that he was a European rarity this far into the interior. He pressed on to have talks with Sultan Ahmadou, as the first rains of June 1880 brought diarrhea and fever that laid him and his comrades low. He had no certainty that execution did not lie in wait. From that month on they stayed in the town of Nango—ten long months, it turned out, until the Sultan decided to let them go. In June alone, a demoralized Gallieni had fifty or sixty attacks of fever, he says. The remaining quinine had gotten wet in fordings and lost its effectiveness. And so (in his description) waves of icy shivering alternated with burning fits, accompanied by loss of appetite. He and his few French adherents had to wait "philosophically for the end of [each] fever attack."[20] Gallieni would still be suffering its effects at the time of the Marne, but at least he was learning to overcome odds. This was why Lyautey, who knew greatness when he saw it, would "drink his [Gallieni's] Sudanese secrets" during nights in the Tonkin jungle fifteen years later.[21]

Waiting for the Sultan to sign some sort of protectorate treaty and let them go became a torture. The Sultan kept promising, but "we are victims of these habits of slowness and laziness of the Toucouleurs." On December 4 Gallieni noted five straight days of fever with severe headaches and hummings in the ears. A sad January 1, 1881, came, and all thoughts and conversations were on return to France. Finally, the Sultan signed a treaty on March 10, 1881, by which France received its "protectorate" from the Niger's source to Timbuctou, though the treaty would be undermined by Gallieni's own interpretations of its terms, as well as by the Sultan's treachery. The group was at last permitted to leave March 21.[22]

Back in France for the next several years (save for get-well time in Martinique) Gallieni received decorations—a Legion of Honor and a medal from the Geography Society—as well as promotions. He also had time to digest the lessons of the Sudan and write the book mentioned. He would often remark that if he hadn't been a soldier he would have been a writer; in fact, like Caesar, he was both. He loved putting things on paper without undue romanticism. As noted, he was fond of English writers and the Germans. ("A man today who . . . doesn't know German, I consider dis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

armed," he would remark.) He was a fan of Voltaire, particularly of histories such as *L'Histoire de Charles XII.* There was a symmetry to Gallieni's existence. He went off to live in a demanding world, then came back to France to digest the experience and write about it. At home in the autumn of 1881 he also met and soon wed Marthe Savelli, offspring of a wealthy Corsican family, musical and multilingual, and a woman who would give him happiness (as well as two children). But inevitably, the craving for action returned. In 1886 Gallieni asked for a return to Senegal and got it—as Supreme Commander of the French Sudan.[23]

The situation there was far from resolved. In the North, Ahmadou remained a problem; in the South, it was another Moslem chieftain, Mahmadou Lamine ("the Marabout"). To confront them, Gallieni brought his old infantry friend Vallière, previously in the Sudan with him, as well as Doctor Tautain, who left a Paris medical practice. For troops he had a thousand Senegalese *tirailleurs*, a division of spahis, an artillery company, and cannoneers. He also brought the latest artillery.[24]

Gallieni started his main assault on the Marabout by splitting his company—one part setting out from Aroundou and the other from the chief French town in the Sudan, Kayes, on December 12, 1886. The idea was to converge after a difficult march at Diane, the Marabout's stronghold. Again Gallieni sharpened skills garnered on his first trip. Though less compelling than his first, his second book again revealed his ability to observe and improvise. *Ravitaillement* remained "my big preoccupation." He still had to fight tenacious local customs and inequities, like slavery. Eventually he would rescue a group of slave women belonging to the Marabout and arrange their marriages with seventeen of his Senegalese *tirailleurs*. "We know with what facility native women in Senegambia change master," he wrote. He also fought the use of torture, such as by a tribe of Bondous who cut off an ear, hand, and foot of a tied-up unfortunate, who was also roasted on a fire. And of course there was the usual "crushing heat."[25]

Most importantly, Gallieni made a French reputation by combatting depredations of leaders like the Marabout, and stopping the practice of burning villages, killing notables, and making women and children captives. Here he learned to protect, as he would protect Paris in 1914. He had to implement instruments of civilization that were hard-won benefits in such an area. Speaking

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of one part of the Senegal-to-Niger railway project, which he supervised, he said: "I felt a real satisfaction when I took the train at Dakar that was to lead us to Saint-Louis." He remembered the "smiles of incredulity" when the project had begun eight years back. Soon one could painlessly cross the "Thieves' Ravine" that had previously bothered commercial travellers.[26]

Eventually both his groups reached Diane, evacuated by the Marabout, who left his Koran and sandals behind. There had been no French casualties thus far. Gallieni made a number of new treaties with chieftains, pledging to close their villages to the Marabout; in good faith, the chieftains had to give some of their sons to attend Gallieni's schools as "hostages." The protectorate was extended considerably to the south. He captured and executed the son of Mahmadou—weakness, he felt, would not do. And on May 12, 1887, Gallieni signed a kind of reinsurance treaty with the other major potentate, Sultan Ahmadou, though he considered the pagan Bambaras France's best allies. The final blow was the wounding of the Marabout in battle and his subsequent death in captivity. Forts, gardens, roads, and sewers followed, as well as better organization of the area. He also pushed for further expansion and groomed a successor in the region, Louis Archinard.[27]

Back in France Gallieni was again celebrated. At thirty-eight he entered the Ecole de Guerre, where he said little about past exploits. He absorbed exciting developments in French culture of the day and found time for family life. He also began to fall out with Archinard over the latter's more militaristic concept of the Sudan protectorate.[28] But in 1892, as Colonel Gallieni, he went to another demanding colonial area, the Tonkin (part of modern Vietnam). The Tonkin was where he truly solidified his famous "oil slick" method of pacification—starting with military strongholds, then "civilizing" with schools or gardens, while also encouraging locals to assume responsibilities in another area plagued by anarchy. His first impressions here were different from the Sudan. Again he had to learn quickly to distinguish ethnicities. He found out who the chief Chinese or Annamese lords of pillage were, and the north became his major area of concern. Assuming command of the "Second Territory" in mountainous country bordering China, he began expeditions against the "pirates," or rebel warlords. (Certain groups were sometimes referred to as "Black Flags.") Again, *ravitaillement* was "the big-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gest worry." At the beginning of January 1894, he had sixteen hundred men ready to go into the mountains. The country was almost as forbidding as the Sudan.[29] Gallieni quotes a good description of Tonkin best kept in French: "Dans cet enfer végétal le brouillard, les mares croupies, la terre en morteur distillent les fièvres mortelles que colportent les serpents, les sangsues, les vers . . . On découpe sa route à travers les taillis où gîtent les tigres, les léopards."[30]

A second expedition, against a Chief Baky in April 1895, and then a third in November 1895 against the Dê Tham, were also successful, especially now that Gallieni had a kindred soul in Lyautey. Capturing key "pirates," and dickering with Mandarins across the border, Gallieni and his group had for this moment at least made the northeast of Tonkin safer for peasants, who had endured years of extortion.

He also made important contacts. When he met Chinese authorities, Gallieni was surprised by their tolerance and the ancient civility of their customs, although they seemed more military than the Annamese. And he learned to eat as people did in this whole region, dropping meat for fruit, vegetables, and rice. He would leave Tonkin with a sense of accomplishment greater than on his next assignment, despite the fact that a policy of collaboration with Vietnamese notables (including gifts of arms) and Chinese border officials would ultimately fail in the twentieth century.[31]

Back in France he again enjoyed family life—bicycling with his children in Provence, trimming vines, etc.[32] But it was soon time for the next problem to work on, a pattern that would continue until the end of his life. Madagascar was yet another area in a state of anarchy—with only shaky French influence, Hova expansion, a revolt *against* the Hovas in 1894, and squabbles within the French army, which stepped in even as the French Chamber was voting in August 1896 to make the island a colony.

When Gallieni arrived a month later, a revolt by Imerina nobles had led to a wide-ranging uprising, giving him carte blanche power. As Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief he used it immediately, despite having written a few weeks earlier: "I know nothing of Madagascar." Promptly, perhaps too promptly, he arrested an aunt and uncle of the Imerina queen, who also called herself queen of Madagascar, and a general who was her Minister of the Interior. By mid-October the two men were shot. Writing Alfred Grandidier soon after, Gallieni noted how free he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

felt of Parisian strictures in this war against the Hovas. As he said, "I don't preoccupy myself either with texts or regulations. I go straight to my general goal: bring back peace; Frenchify the island." Many today and even then would reject such goals, but taking initiatives before it was too late would also help him win at the Marne. Here, however, he had fewer illusions than in Sudan or Tonkin. He knew again that this area was one "where one has to create everything"—where ill health seemed endemic, and disorder a difficult habit to cure.[33]

Once again, he had to act as an enlightened despot. Gallieni didn't abolish slavery in Madagascar, but worked hard to try and enforce its abolition. The same was true of feudalism and its inequities, though he was aided by insurrections against nobles. His main job was to pacify different parts of the island, while working with and buttressing new elites. To fight leprosy, tuberculosis, syphilis, and other diseases, he pushed for the creation of medical establishments and rudimentary hygiene. He also rooted out tribal pillaging, reformed corrupt finances and tax structures, and reduced the venality of justice.[34] Making order from disorder in a hurry was again good preparation for war leadership.

But things went less smoothly than in times before. For one thing a burgeoning French colonial establishment now sent him inspectors and other bureaucrats he disliked. Their a priori ideas were to him what Joffre's military school apothegms would be. These inspectors didn't understand a young colony, he wrote; they wanted to "strangle initiatives" with "regulations, good maybe for the *métropole* or old colonies, but bad here." There were also moral criticisms of his French soldiers who took temporary Malagache wives, often young ones.[35] A second group that irritated him here was missionaries—both Catholics and extreme Protestants, like the London Missionary Society. A secularist, Gallieni tried to steer between these shoals, but it took a lot out of him. This was particularly true near to his departure, when missionary numbers in Madagascar swelled in response to the expulsion of religious orders from France.[36]

There were also the difficulties of regional groups, if not always distinct races—for immigration from Egypt, Malaysia, Merina, and Indonesia had mixed stocks. And the perennial problem remained of finding good military personnel. Lyautey, in charge of the South, was a shining exception. Part of the problem was poor communication with these military authorities, due to a lack of roads, rail, and telegraph. Financial allocations were insuffi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cient. Little wonder that as early as January 1899, Gallieni was complaining as he had never complained before that he had had enough. To Joseph Chailley, he wrote on January 15, 1899, from Tananarive that "I am truly fatigued and it would be better . . . that I give way to someone less overloaded than me. This colonial life wears you out quickly."[37]

Gallieni's exceptionally detailed confidential report of 1899 on Madagascar—really another book—radiates no self-satisfaction. Colonialism had instead taught him humility. He emphasized how much was still lacking on Madagascar in transportation and communications, in the health field, and in general organization.[38] But on a brief leave spent in Paris conferences, Gallieni complained also about life in the French capital, finding it expensive and agitated. The man who would become a hero to Parisians in the war declared that "I have nothing of a Parisian's temperament." Still he was also glad after three years abroad to enjoy French commodities and comforts.[39]

And he continued to collect disciples. One, Paul Ellie, who had followed him from Tonkin to Madagascar, enjoyed the newness of colonies where so much needed to be done and where Gallieni's ingenuity seemed a necessity. If he pushed his men, he also pushed himself—as much as twelve to fifteen hours a day—and Ellie became increasingly attached to him. He also called the colonial life a school, as Lyautey did. Capitaine "X," another Gallieni acolyte, admired his adaptation to vegetarianism, his powers of observation, and mainly how he created relative peace and salubrity in an area of prior disorder. Henry Charbonnel notes that a school gift of Gallieni's second book on the Sudan, ardently read and reread, had made *him* a colonial.[40]

The greatest disciple remained Hubert Lyautey, though he was beginning to see himself as Gallieni's equal. To his sister, Lyautey wrote from Fianarantsoa, his southern headquarters, on November 17, 1900:

> I am 46 years old tonight; the age Colonel Gallieni was when I met him six years ago. He was a colonel, I am a colonel. He commanded the most important territories of Indochina, I command a third of Madagascar. . . . He had faith in his star, I have faith in mine.[41]

On returning to Madagascar Gallieni tapped Joffre in 1900 to fortify Diego-Suarez up north, a key to the defense of the island because of its bay and mountains. Gallieni was soon to be pleased

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with those results and how Joffre began planning a road to the south. But unfortunately, Gallieni had little else to go on for his opinion of the man but his engineering skill.[42]

Amid new insurrections and critiques from Paris, Gallieni finally left Madagascar in June 1905, becoming henceforth an ex-colonial. But he was also content again to be back in the family milieu. He had a library that would grow to over seven thousand volumes and he continued to read a lot. (Of Joffre it was said that he could hardly read maps, let alone books.) Gallieni loved history and biography, as well as Balzac, Dickens, and other nineteenth-century literary masters. He tried to keep up with currents in art and music and with health fads too.[43] And he continued to write, digesting the Madagascar experience, but going farther back as well.

One of his books in that prewar period was for children, *Un Noël au Soudan*. Here he recalled the Christmas captivity of 1880 in Nango. This illustrated book shows an imperialistic influence on children's literature that would perhaps culminate in the famous Babar series.[44] Meanwhile from 1906 to his full retirement in 1914, Gallieni's military positions included command of a corps in Clermont-Ferrand, then one in Lyon. In 1908 he became a member of the Supreme Council of War, also making colonial tours of inspection. A few years before the greatest conflict in history, Gallieni demonstrated more than average prescience, once again due in part to his background. By 1911 he knew what some did not yet accept—that war was inevitable, and that the Germans would definitely come through neutral Belgium. From 1911 to 1914 he kept demanding the reinforcement of Maubeuge, which would be crucial, and the manufacture of more 75's and other heavy artillery.[45]

Too many who counted underestimated him. Charbonneau cites an important member of the General Staff, who dismissed Gallieni as *just* a colonial—a builder, not a tactician. Yet this colonial seemed to foresee the reality others were ignoring. Already he knew the importance of aviation for reconnaissance, which he would use for the turnaround of the Marne. He was also trying at the War Council to overcome Grandmaison's dogma of *offensive à outrance*. Most important, as Leblond notes, "He had the psychology of the Germans." He was obsessed with the German frontier, travelling frequently to Lorraine, and possibly for that reason, knew the Lorraine offensive (Plan XVII) would fail. As he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

told Leblond, "for forty years . . . we have ignored everything about foreign arms . . . English nullity and especially the formidable German preparations." Where were reports from French military attachés in Berlin? he wondered. Why had the Germans learned more than the French from recent wars like the Boer or Russo-Japanese conflicts?[46]

It is a current cliché that we are all responsible for our lives, and in Gallieni's case one big prewar error confirms that cliché. In 1911, Adolphe Messimy, the new Minister of War, consulted him on who should become Chief of the reorganized General Staff, replacing General Michel. Messimy was greatly impressed by Gallieni's colonial past and gave him first chance at the position; but Gallieni, near retirement, demurred, calling himself a career colonial, which he assumed would provoke controversy with the metropolitan army, and also needlessly ruffle Michel's feathers. Gallieni recommended General Pau, a popular army man, but Messimy considered the appointment of a clerical Catholic politically unwise. Pau also wanted absolute power in the nomination of subordinates. This left Joffre, with his republican secularity and orthodox military views, echoing the new dogma of the offensive, which Michel had opposed. Gallieni recommended Joffre second (at least one version says third), but verged on damning with faint praise. He called Joffre a good worker—methodical and precise—and the appointment was made. Later, both he and Messimy would have great regrets, once they saw the paper-shuffling, falsifying general for what he was. Messimy's regrets lasted into the 1930s and "hundreds of times" he wondered whether he should have pushed Gallieni harder to take the position, despite his impending retirement date of April 1914. Messimy would especially be saddened commanding regiments that were decimated in 1915–1916 by Joffre's strategic errors. But even before 1915, in an ironic turnaround, Gallieni would have to beg his former subordinate for suitable employment.[47]

Other important military figures like General de Castelnau also knew by the beginning of the war that a mistake had been made—and precisely because Gallieni's colonial credentials were more substantial than Joffre's. Before the conflict Messimy tried several times to rectify matters and have Gallieni appointed as Joffre's right-hand man (*adjoint*), but with no success.[48] In his diary, meanwhile, Gallieni groaned about the whole General Staff (March 2, 1914), decrying its preparations for war. A month later

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

he derisively mentioned Joffre's girth: "In the Bois [de Boulogne] I see Joffre in front of me. He sure is big and heavy!"[49]

Just before the conflagration Gallieni's official retirement also coincided with the sickness and death of his wife, and a sudden depression. On April 26 he had mentioned "dark thoughts" in his diary; on July 30 after her death, "an immense void."[50] He began pestering Joffre for an appointment, but was kept waiting. In this period Gallieni repeatedly warned the General Staff to improve defense of Maubeuge, Dunkerque, Lille, and the left bank of the Meuse. Finally, at the eleventh hour, he was pulled out of mothballs by President Poincaré (July 31), the latter pressured by Messimy, who was again War Minister. They gave Gallieni the title of *adjoint* to Joffre, with the idea that he would eventually replace him. This did not, of course, endear Gallieni to Joffre, who snubbed him and kept him isolated from decision-making through August. As initial French plans failed, and the Germans hastened toward Paris, Gallieni found his title irritatingly ceremonial. He chafed. Messimy's last important move before leaving the War Ministry was to name Gallieni military governor of Paris, on August 26, 1914, in replacement of the less active Michel. It turned out to be the perfect post—one where Gallieni's colonial lessons of matériel-scrounging, fortification, coordination, and attention to detail could be profitably employed. The tragedy is that his military capabilities would be hamstrung too soon.[51]

A remarkable book, *Les Mémoires du Général Gallieni: Défense de Paris*, published posthumously, makes clear in an unself-serving way what a debacle 1914 could have been for the French, no less than 1870 or 1940. In so little time (redolent of Churchill's aviators in 1940) Gallieni did much to avert that debacle. Already disgusted with the General Staff's ignorance about the Belgian invasion, its costly Lorraine thrust, and its Napoleonic dogma, he knew at the end of August that "we have [only] a few days." On August 30 he scratched in his diary: "Tragic day! . . . I have the impression that he [Joffre] considers Paris sacrificed." The next day Millerand, the new War Minister, told Gallieni that Paris would indeed be taken by the Germans. Gallieni's actions became feverish—curfews, reinforcement of siege artillery, special trains for notables to depart, and coordination with Bourgès-Maunoury's 6th army, which Joffre finally vouchsafed him September 1.[52]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Like the colonial he had been, an aged Gallieni now forced sloppy bureaucracy to get ready *fast* for the Germans. Constantly moving, he visited forts and military people, and began requisitioning his famous autos and taxis as early as August 29, cutting through conflicting jurisdictions, "vain discussions." Racing out into the near provinces on September 1, he beheld a scene normally associated with 1940—roads clogged with refugees, mattresses, and carts, and armies ill-coordinated. He couldn't believe the speed of the Germans and the pusillanimity of the French General Staff. Paris became his obsession. Having made a detailed study of the 1870 siege and attended to *ravitaillement* in the colonies, he knew how crucial food supply was. He set sheep and cattle grazing in parks, and worked on keeping the water supply pure, since dead soldiers on battlefields outside Paris polluted it. He was very hard on Paris bakers, giving them directives worthy of Robespierre, whose Committee of Public Safety he admired. Like Robespierre he also attended to the "moral defense" of the capital, specifically criticizing alcoholism ("The evil . . . that saps the whole country"). And the Parisians returned his love and care. With the Germans days away he praised the "belle attitude" of a capital that needed reassuring, given the imminent departure of the government to Bordeaux.[53]

On September 2 Gallieni was working at centralizing the military, welcoming a fresh Algerian division. But on September 3 his finest hour began. This was the day the announcement of the government's departure hit Paris walls; his calm (the word usually imputed to Joffre) helped prevent a mass exodus. September 3 also saw the beginning of a fatal German military shift which Gallieni, not Joffre, first noticed. At Senlis the First German Army suddenly changed direction. According to air reconnaissance, Von Kluck was now turning southeast, "offering the flank to an attack by the armies of Paris." The change called for a quick counterattack, but Joffre's idea of a retreat to lines south of the Seine and Yonne remained intact. It is perhaps too easy to look down on Joffre; still, one should not give him main credit for the Marne turnaround. (Even Michel's recent book on Gallieni is too evenhanded.) Seizing the reins, Gallieni realized immediately that "minutes were hours . . . days and even years." He wanted all troops possible for a counterattack—now, not later. Luckily, Joffre had put Maunoury's 6th army under Gal-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lieni's control (until he became too successful with it), and with 60,000 men plus an Algerian division of 20,000 he certainly had a force to punch back with. By adding reinforcements, he hoped he could increase the counterattack instrument to as many as 150,000 men. And he found Maunoury a fine colleague. Seeing nothing but the *patrie*, a latter-day Jacobin, Gallieni was inspired by "great examples given by our *conventionnels* and, closer to us, by Gambetta." The Germans had executed the mayor and other hostages at Senlis; Gallieni knew the takeover of Paris would cause damage. It was now or never. On September 4 he gave the counterattack order, and by incessant telephoning rallied the sluggish Joffre. (Joffre would later create ersatz orders, antedating all this.) The English were slower yet to come around, in part because of Joffre's vacillation.[54]

It was the bold Gallieni who had police kick passengers from the celebrated taxis, sending their drivers to the front. Joffre wanted to give direct orders to the 6th Army, but Gallieni briefly kept this lethal mediocrity at bay. Writing of this moment, Judith Cladel saw in the Sudanese graduate "the burning inspiration of the artist."[55] His first counterattack came on the Ourcq, but on the 6th began the true Battle of the Marne. Taxis came up in force on the 7th and 8th to aid the reeling if optimistic Maunoury with reinforcements. While the issue was still in doubt, Joffre found time to thank Gallieni (September 7). But once the Germans were partially routed and in retreat, Joffre's jealousy became active again, and on September 8 Gallieni received word that he could no longer give orders to the 6th Army, "cutting short all my intentions and initiatives." On the plateau over the Ourcq Manoury had Von Kluck in disarray; the added divisions Gallieni vainly demanded, as well as more heavy artillery, might have pushed the Germans from France, rather than simply behind the Aisne and then the trench line, "where they still are" (as he wrote in June 1915).[56]

This was a truly significant moment of the war, in terms of the hundreds of thousands who would be subsequently slaughtered. But on September 11 Gallieni was definitively removed from command of the Army of Paris, a day before the Germans crossed the Aisne, which turned out to be impregnable. The race north to the sea and a trench stalemate ensued during the next several months, and he found his hands tied.[57]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Almost immediately Joffre began to take credit for the turnaround. That fall *Le Temps* published a version of the Marne, written by G.Q.G. (Grand Quartier Général). "My name," Gallieni wrote bitterly in his diary, "is not even pronounced there, not even in connection with the requisition of the automobiles." In December he lamented that the official report of the General Staff also said nothing of him in connection with the Marne.[58]

Though it has received attention, this subject deserves another look; suffice it to say that the myth of the Marne helped keep Joffre in power until after Verdun and would continue to delude France in the postwar era. One prime "cooker" of that myth was Joffre's sycophantic aide, Gamelin, who would make his own lethal errors in 1940. In the preface to a book written for the "Historical Service of the General Staff of the Army" in 1938, Gamelin seemed happy that "documentation" had finally put the Joffre-Gallieni problem to rest. Joffre's were the logical orders; he had the overview, where Gallieni knew only particulars (when in fact it was the reverse—Joffre's wartime isolation is now proverbial). In sanctimonious prose Gamelin concludes that only "the chief's decision" matters to "la grande histoire. . . . The rest is in the domain of anecdotal narrative." But the prize for meretriciousness goes to Joffre himself. One has only to consult one of his wartime narratives to see this. "It was on September 4th . . . that I felt the supreme moment had come to start the decisive battle," for he knew all along that Von Kluck had stupidly weakened the right wing. Of course France "possesses incomparable military traditions" and Napoleonic doctrine that "calls upon the commander-in-chief to direct the battle from beginning to end." The Germans simply failed to "cover their flank. It was against this flank that *I* [his underlining] had massed General Maunoury's army."[59]

Not everybody accepted the Joffre version. Clemenceau, Kitchener, and Von Kluck himself would all salute Gallieni's underpraised role. "If he was English," remarked Kitchener, "he would be covered in glory."[60] But glory was not what Gallieni desired, especially in such a dire atmosphere. The adulation of Parisians discomfited him, and he would deprecate fame. What obsessed him most was what Adolphe Goutard has called the "unexploited victory" of the Marne—and the consequent race to the sea, the creation of an unassailable German front, and the occupation of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ten of "our richest departments." Not only was Joffre's jealousy to blame, but also that of politicians, soon to return from Bordeaux. Gallieni tried to remain above and beyond "these sterile discussions, these intrigues," but they had influence.[61]

Meanwhile he saw Joffre churn out "dithyrambic" bulletins from the morrow of his dismissal. On September 17 a spurned man noted in his diary that this war would be a long one, criticizing through the autumn the G.Q.G.'s complacent optimism. The self-satisfaction of both military authorities and politicians bothered him, given French battle deaths that had already reached a very high number. As early as October 1914, he criticized Joffre's idea of a breakthrough on the trench front, an idea that would consume many lives through 1915. "We will not pass," he told Leblond, "we will not make a 'hole'. Joffre is too content to be in the trenches! He says he will get them when he wants. . . . No, he won't get them" [*il ne les aura pas*]. Gallieni meanwhile was asking for a command at the front from Joffre, and from politicians like Viviani, unused to military affairs. By November 21 Gallieni could write: "What guilty people our Ministers and general Joffre!"[62]

But his *j'accuses* were mostly private, and such influential ears as they found mostly deaf ones. His political popularity was with extreme Right and Left and with the common people of Paris, not truly where it counted. But he was right. What he said about G.Q.G would become orthodoxy in accounts like Alistair Horne's; it wasn't then. Compare Gallieni, January 19, 1915—"The General Staff is still the same: it's a chapel . . . which lives outside of realities"—to Horne—"Isolated in its palace at Chantilly, G.Q.G. lived amid an atmosphere of back-stabbing intrigue reminiscent of the court of Louis XV at Versailles." Joffre's optimism by early 1915 was indeed dangerously superstitious, and today's psychiatrists might even label it magical thinking. As Gallieni penned in his diary January 30, "optimism everywhere; the Germans, one fine day, we don't know why, will leave."[63]

Not only did he know that they wouldn't, but like Churchill, only earlier, he realized that a way needed to be found to avoid more costly trench engagements. Before the end of 1914 he was already considering the underbelly of Europe—Salonika, the Dardanelles. Here again Gallieni was thwarted, primarily by Joffre. From the end of February 1915, he was vociferously proclaiming the idea of taking Constantinople, rushing into the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Austro-Hungarian Empire, gaining the element of surprise, and also keeping the Bulgarians from joining the Central Powers (which they would do). At first Joffre said he would award his former superior a Balkan command at the head of an Italian army; then he dismissed it as "Gallieni's crazy ambition," reassuring Briand in March 1915 that he would pierce the trench front. Joffre's dillydallying, his sackings of the best military minds, his press management (including the use of André Tardieu as a publicist), and his isolated abstraction had an effect on Gallieni's health. As a sop in March 1915, Gallieni was offered the wounded Maunoury's army, now reduced to inaction, but he refused, desiring a command that would involve him in fighting. Through 1915 his interviews and diary entries are those of an obsessed man stuck waiting, while a generation of French youth was being trampled in offensives.[64]

Gallieni was not the only one with regrets; Messimy, as noted, now realized the wrongheadedness of his choice and that Joffre was a truly dangerous man, untouchable because of his manicured legend, a man whose chronic poor judgments went back to the first German incursion into Belgium.[65] But Gallieni could take no comfort in any of this; "I told you so" was not his aim. His organizational skill, celerity in making decisions, courage—everything he had learned from long colonial experience—went unused. The entire political and military spheres depressed him. "Everywhere I see only irresolution," he said.[66]

By October 1915, however, the politicians Viviani and Briand began to recognize Gallieni for what he was, begging him now to be War Minister, a post he knew would not suit him. He flatly told Briand no, pleading health problems. What his colonial past told him to shun was "palabres"—the endless discussions French politics entailed. He would have much preferred Joffre's position, but the politicians found it too risky to remove that legendary figure. On October 30, 1915, however, Gallieni finally gave in, becoming a "ministre malgré lui" in the new Briand cabinet. Leblond remembers a certain happiness Gallieni had in being taken off the shelf, a few rays of initial hope.[67]

Up at five each day, despite failing health, Gallieni did the job the only way he knew how—thoroughly. But what joy he had was quickly tempered by melancholy and scepticism. All his career, he said to Leblond, people had called him when it was very late—Sudan, Madagascar, 1914, and now. Why had they waited a year

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of battle deaths for this appointment? His obsessions wouldn't leave him. To Foch he said half-seriously that after the war they ought to dynamite the Ecole de Guerre! To Pierre Gheusi he complained of this political "prison ship," of arguments that led nowhere. But he did confront debaters he had always tried to ignore, rising in the Chamber to discuss the abuse of military recommendations it took fifty bureaucrats to read. Predictably, Clemenceau loved this forthrightness, but others found Gallieni too outspoken. Some argue, however, that Gallieni now had enough prestige to push for Joffre's demise. Instead, he maneuvered to give Castelnau more power of decision in the field (sabotaged of course by Joffre) and fruitlessly for now, to reorganize the high command under enhanced political scrutiny. Mostly he found himself drowning in a sea of talk.[68]

One particular bugbear was the tangle of bureaucratic paper (*paperasses*). By more use of the telephone, typewriter, and "polycopies," he felt it could easily be reduced; otherwise France would suffocate in this "old house" without a master. His desk, unlike Millerand's, had no paper on it, reports Charbonnel. "Diminishing 'la paperasse'—I think of nothing but that," said Gallieni. In the colonies, Leblond noted, he had always had to combat "the slowness, [wrought] by negligence or malevolence, induced by *paperasses* from the home country." Now he cut bureaucracy wherever he could, but he was also coughing continually and this battle too was not one he could easily win. Bluntly, he told the Chamber that bureaucracy governed France; privately he sputtered of government functionaries: "what a dirty race!"[69]

As the confrontation at Verdun approached, Gallieni, well aware that its fortifications were doubtful, increasingly felt his place should be elsewhere. He still saw Joffre as a dangerous optimist and said "we will die of the General Staff." He was also plain fatigued. Doctors' visits multiplied. His nights were agitated. He felt himself too different in training from Briand and the rest, and again, colonial experience was the reason; what could a Briand learn of life in the Chamber? Whereas, "continual nomads, we [colonials] are accustomed to look around ourselves . . . Now in this office [*boîte*] of Loménie de Brienne . . . I feel ill at ease: I liked the tropical forests better."[70]

From December 1915, he had been warning Joffre that it was getting too late to defend Verdun—that the region should already have been covered with railway lines and proper lines of defense.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

113496

He knew now that it must be abandoned. Clemenceau was fully behind him and against Joffre. In January Castelnau also warned Joffre. No real answer resulted. Gallieni began to lose his appetite. He said to Leblond that Joffre was a jealous peasant; he might have said worse.[71] A witness describes Joffre at the time of Verdun, listening with eyes closed and as if drugged, screwing and unscrewing his pen cap, signing dispatches with irritating slowness.[72]

The onset of the Verdun tragedy, while it seemed somehow to relax Joffre, was actually killing the more highstrung Gallieni. Gheusi says he was devoured by it. Gallieni did try to arrange rest leaves for harassed soldiers and free them from taxing exercises, but he had not long either for the war ministry or life itself. In February 1916, when Verdun began, a typical day for the War Minister was clogged with meetings—a deputy, a senator, another senator, tête à têtes with Kitchener, a general, an admiral, the *contrôleur général* (twice), receptions, and so on. "What wasted time!" he called it all.[73]

Citing an infection in the urethra and an impending operation, but stung also by political opposition to his army reforms, Gallieni started mentioning resignation in early March. (Since he was hardly eating and totally fatigued, we can now assume he had cancer.) Then, over strenuous objections he left the Ministry March 17, fighting now to live. Diary entries show "Vomiting at night" (March 19), "cough with vomiting" (April 2), and "overwhelming fatigue" (April 15).[74]

As doctors prepared a first prostate operation, Gallieni was busy reading English favorites like George Eliot, Dickens, and Thackeray, but also worrying about Verdun. The operation that took place without anaesthesia on April 20, 1916, seemed successful. In contact for the last time, he and Kitchener warned each other about the stupidity of the forthcoming Somme offensive. By May, however, Gallieni had no recovery of appetite or energy. Doctors performed a second operation on May 18, and hemorrhaging sounded his death knell. Though he never gave up his will to hang on, and even received a direct transfusion from his chief doctor, Marion, he passed away May 27, 1916, inquiring before the end about the soldiers at Verdun. Ironically, he died almost simultaneously with Kitchener.[75]

First and foremost a colonial, like his disciple Lyautey, another frustrated War Minister less than a year later, Gallieni had had a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

background more valuable for the Great War than most understood. He was also quite unique, and such people do not always get the positions they should have. It is well known how mediocrity frustrated the forthright in France before and during the Nazi invasion of 1940; less so that the same held true for the First World War. Gallieni was among the best formed by a certain time and experience; but greatness also requires recognizers with the power and integrity to employ it properly.

NOTES

1. Barriers between the colonial and metropolitan armies and mutual misunderstandings helped create this misestimation. Those barriers only started to evaporate in the immediate prewar period. See especially J. Kim Munholland, "The Emergence of the Colonial Military in France, 1880–1905" (Ph.D. dissertation; Princeton University, 1964), 302–39; and Douglas Porch, *The March to the Marne: The French Army 1871–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), 151–64. Porch uses the term "military apartheid" for the colonials (164). But see his somewhat different "Bugeaud, Gallieni, Lyautey: The Development of French Colonial Warfare," in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), 376–407.
2. The most fulsome praise I have seen is in a recent book by Pierre Montagnon on the colonial enterprise as a whole: "Gallieni, le premier et le plus grand de tous les coloniaux français! Il les domine tous. Il est leur maître à tous." The rest, including his great disciple Lyautey, are considered to have a weak spot: "Lyautey est comédien, Faidherbe insatisfait, Bugeaud douteux, Brazza fragile, Mangin personnel, Marchand inconstant." *La France coloniale: La Gloire de l'Empire* (Paris: Editions Pygmalion/Gerard Watelet, 1988), 203. The military authority Liddell Hart also gave Gallieni very high marks both as a colonial and for his role in World War I. *Reputations Ten Years After* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1928), 71–99. This unfootnoted portrait jibes with my opinion of Gallieni, especially in World War I. Virgil Matthews is also complimentary in his balanced article "Joseph Simon Gallieni (1849–1916)," in L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 80–108. Matthews gives less analysis of Gallieni's literary and military sides than I do and does not clearly link his colonial past with his World War I record. I also give much more space to the debate over the Marne. See also the unblushingly high opinion of Gallieni of Jean Gottmann, "Bugeaud, Gallieni, Lyautey: The Development of French Colonial Warfare," in E. M. Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1941), ch. 10, compared with Porch's views in the later edition given above. Porch, *The March to the Marne*, ch. 8, is best on the colonial army in general.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

3. In the 6th edition of R. R. Palmer's and Joel Colton's standard text *A History of the Modern World since 1815* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984, paperback edition in two volumes), they omit Gallieni entirely and give Joffre full credit for ordering the counterattack "at exactly the right moment" (671). In Gordon Wright's well-known French history text *France in Modern Times* (4th edition; New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 309, Joffre again gets high marks and Gallieni receives no mention. This, however, is not the case in Alfred Cobban's equally well-known *A History of Modern France,* Volume 3, *1871–1962* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), where according to the author, Gallieni started the counterattack and Joffre merely "let him loose" (111). In the late 1920s Liddell Hart had cleared up the problem, but as with his tank theories obviously too few read him: "Today . . . the world should recognize Gallieni, rather than Joffre, as the victor of the Marne." *Reputations Ten Years After,* 73. To be fair, we should note that historians may be confused by estimates from intelligent, well-connected figures of the time such as Sir Edward Spears in his *Liaison 1914* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968; first published 1930). Spears says that Joffre was long aware of how the Marne would present an opportunity for counterattack and was simply "keeping his own counsel" until the right moment. Though Gallieni was "a fine and capable commander," Spears declares that "the Battle of the Marne was essentially Joffre's achievement" (336, 375, 435). Modern books on the Marne are unequal in value, but Georges Blond's confirmation of Gallieni's originality and preeminence over a weaker Joffre (at the Marne) may be considered definitive. *The Marne* (tr. H. Eaton Hart; Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1966), 102, 113. He does say that commanding a smaller army made things easier for Gallieni (111).
4. See Jean d'Esme, *Gallieni* (Paris: Plon, 1965), 17–27, a balanced "popular" biography. Roger-François Didelot's light if readable *Gallieni: Soldat de France* (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1947) says he would develop a "soul as inflexible as the marble [there]" (13). Pierre Lyautey in his *Gallieni* (Paris: Gallimard, 1959) talks of the combined grace and wildness of the area (13). Pierre Gheusi, *Gallieni 1849–1916* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1922), by a disciple, says Gallieni had a profile like the Pyrenees (7), though equating his Pyrenean background with Joffre's, as does Judith Cladel in *Le Général Gallieni* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1916), is misleading (18). The most recent biography, Marc Michel's *Gallieni* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), only came out at the end of 1989 and was not available when I started this paper in 1990. Since it has no footnotes, similarity of taste accounts for a few quotes we have chosen in common from Gallieni's works. This is a fine book, and the best biography of Gallieni; but it seems to become cynical and to run out of gas somewhat by World War I. It is no substitute for Gallieni's own fine works cited below, some of which were collected after his death by his children or by Pierre Gheusi.
5. On languages, Michel, *Gallieni,* 30. On his Englishness, G. Blanchon (editor of the *Journal officiel*): "He has the aspect of an English officer," in his "Le Général Gallieni," *Pages actuelles* no. 16 (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1915), 26.
6. Again, there are some hagiographic exaggerations on Gallieni's incarceration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pierre Lyautey writes: "In a few weeks, he will speak and write German fluently" (*Gallieni*, 21). Gallieni's letter to his father, noting proudly "We are not part of the capitulation of Sedan," is cited in d'Esme, *Gallieni*, 32, among other places. Kitchener would share Gallieni's deep wartime reservations about offensives, and about Joffre. Like Gallieni Kitchener predicted early on that World War I would be a long one. See George H. Cassar, *Kitchener: Architect of Victory* (London: William Kimber, 1977), 230, 249, 270. The book makes some of the same claims for Kitchener as I make for Gallieni.

7. Didelot in *Gallieni* calls his stay in Réunion "Three years of paradise, dreaming, reflection" (45).
8. Most of the biographies mention these identifications.
9. For the foregoing see Michel, *Gallieni*, ch. 4 and most of ch. 5, as well as appropriate sections of the older biographies and of Matthews, "Gallieni."
10. Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan français (Haut-Niger et pays de Segou 1879–1881)* (Paris: Hachette, 1885), 36, 382, 427, 95, 15, 246–48, and 134. Three good books on the background to problems and political configurations in the region are David Robinson's *Chiefs and Clerics: Abdul Bokar Kan and Futa Toro 1853–1891* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), and *The Holy War of Umar Tal: The Western Sudan in the Mid-nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), and B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukulor Empire* (London: Longman, 1972).
11. See on this, among so many others, Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory* (London: Viking-Penguin, 1987), 33–34.
12. Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan français*, 136, 186, 160, 195.
13. Pierre Gheusi, *Guerre et théâtre 1914–1918* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1919), 272. Blanchon, "Le Général Gallieni," 28: "His art has been in choosing and employing men." And in a letter to J. Charles-Roux, September 26, 1902, in Gallieni's *Lettres de Madagascar 1896–1905* (Paris: Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1928), 97, he himself wrote, referring especially to Lyautey: "Colonies are made with men, and these men, one takes them where one finds them."
14. See, for example, Gheusi, *Guerre et théâtre*, 274: "The rivalries, the jealousies of the General Staff . . . shocked him . . . he had never wanted to face up to the baseness [*sonder la bassesse*] of certain souls, nor the servility of perverse minds."
15. See Gallieni to J. Chailley, February 6, 1899, in his *Lettres de Madagascar*, 44.
16. Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan français*, 145, 170, quotations 140, 133.
17. Ibid., 387, quotations 104, 209. A good biographical treatment of Lyautey and his ideas is André Le Révérend, *Lyautey* (Paris: Fayard, 1983).
18. See d'Esme, *Gallieni*, 52–56; Michel, *Gallieni*, 88.
19. See Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan français*, 222–25.
20. Ibid., 251–52, 352; quotation 383.
21. Lyautey quotation in his *Lettres du Tonkin et de Madagascar (1894–1899)* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1921), 141 (in a letter to his sister of February 17, 1895).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

22. See Gallieni, *Voyage au Soudan français*, 409–10, and 421; Michel, *Gallieni*, 96; and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sudan: A Study in French Military Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969), 72–83, taxing Gallieni with a series of falsifications (to the Sultan and then on the Treaty of Nango, to the French government), as well as anti-Islamic bias.
23. See Marius-Ary Leblond, *Gallieni parle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1920), I, 238–39 (includes quotation); Michel, *Gallieni*, 103–04, on his marriage, and appropriate sections of the older biographies, as well as Matthews, "Gallieni."
24. Michel, *Gallieni*, 113–20, and appropriate sections of the older Gallieni studies.
25. Joseph Gallieni, *Deux Campagnes au Soudan français 1886-1888* (Paris: Hachette, 1891), 107, 50, quotations 107, 121 (the latter also quoted in Michel, *Gallieni*, 122), and 71. On the slavery issue see François Renault, "L'Abolition de l'esclavage au Sénégal: l'attitude de l'administration française (1848–1905)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 58 (1971), 5–81.
26. Gallieni, *Deux Campagnes au Soudan français*, 51, quotations 6.
27. See appropriate sections of the biographies (Gheusi, *Gallieni*, 27 is one of the better written); Gallieni, *Deux Campagnes au Soudan français*, 84, 89; and Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, ch. 6 and beginning of ch. 7, where the term "Total Conquest" of the Sudan is used.
28. See Michel, *Gallieni*, 132; Gheusi, *Gallieni*, 34, on his modesty at the Ecole de Guerre; and on the falling-out with Archinard, Kanya-Forstner, *Conquest of the Western Sudan*, 198-99.
29. Michel, *Gallieni*, ch. 10; *Gallieni au Tonkin (1892–1896) par lui-même* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1941), quotation 12.
30. Paul Chack, cited in *Gallieni au Tonkin*, 7.
31. For these two paragraphs see Michel, *Gallieni*, chs. 10 and 11; appropriate sections of the older biographies; Matthews, "Gallieni," *Gallieni au Tonkin*, 39–43, 90; and especially J. Kim Munholland, "'Collaboration Strategy' and the French Pacification of Tonkin, 1885–1897," *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981), 629–50. The latter sees Vietnamese-Chinese enmity as an assist to Gallieni's success, but stresses also the transience of that success.
32. Michel, *Gallieni*, 107.
33. For the foregoing see Gallieni to Alfred Grandidier, letters of August 15 and October 25, 1896, in his *Lettres de Madagascar*, 3, 15; and Joseph Gallieni, *Neuf Ans à Madagascar* (Paris: Hachette, 1908), 12, quotation 3. On the methods Gallieni used to deal with the revolt see the critical assessment of Stephen Ellis, "The Political Elite of Imerina and the Revolt of the *Menalamba*: The Creation of a Colonial Myth in Madagascar, 1895–1898," *Journal of African History* 21 (1980), 219–34. Ellis says the two men shot were innocent. The high cost of disease should also be figured into this discussion. Over 80 percent of Frenchmen in this campaign perished of it, asserts Douglas Porch in *The Conquest of the Sahara* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 152.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

34. Gallieni, *Neuf Ans à Madagascar*, 50, 54–57; see also on Third Republic hygiene, Guy Thuillier, "Pour une histoire de l'hygiène corporelle: un exemple regional: Le Nivernais," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 46 (1968), 232–53.
35. Gallieni to J. Charles-Roux, June 4, 1903, in *Lettres de Madagascar*, 114–15. On Malagache "wives" see Henry Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun: Vingt Ans à l'ombre de Gallieni* (Paris: Editions Karolus, 1962), 32–33.
36. See Maurice Gontard, "La Politique religieuse de Gallieni à Madagascar pendant les premières années de l'occupation française (1896-1900)," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 58 (1971), 183–214; Gallieni letter to Alfred Grandidier, June 1, 1904, on the *congréganistes* in *Lettres de Madagascar*, 152–53. Anticlerical governments allowed Catholic missionaries mostly free rein in the colonies, and just before World War I there were between 70,000 and 90,000 pupils in missionary schools, learning both religion and elements of French patriotism. C. M. Andrew and A. S. Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas: The Great War and the Climax of French Imperial Expansion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 41.
37. Jean Charbonneau, *Gallieni à Madagascar* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1950), 24; Gallieni, *Lettres de Madagascar*, 39; and Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 76 ("the government demanded [pacification and organization] without money").
38. See his *Rapport d'ensemble sur la pacification, l'organisation et la colonisation de Madagascar (Octobre 1896 à Mars 1896)* (1899, no place, published by "governor-general of Madagascar").
39. Letter of October 30, 1899, in Charbonneau, *Gallieni à Madagascar*, 140; Gallieni, *Neuf ans à Madagascar*, 147.
40. Lieutenant Paul Ellie, *Le Général Gallieni: Le Tonkin-Madagascar* (Paris: F. Juven, 1900), 43, 63; Capitaine X . . . , *Voyage du Général Gallieni* (Paris: Hachette, 1901), 2, on Madagascar; and Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 23.
41. Hubert Lyautey, *Lettres du sud de Madagascar 1900–1902* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1935), 43.
42. Gallieni, *Neuf Ans à Madagascar*, 161–67, 224–25; Charbonneau, *Gallieni à Madagascar*, 109–112. On Gallieni in Madagascar generally see Michel, *Gallieni*, chs. 12–15 and appropriate sections of the older biographies, as well as Matthews, "Gallieni."
43. See Horne, *The Price of Glory*, 29; Michel, *Gallieni*, 241, 244, 246.
44. Joseph Gallieni, *Un Noël au Soudan* (Paris: Editions du monde moderne, 1924 edition).
45. Didelot, *Gallieni*, 195–96, is good on this. See also Michel, *Gallieni*, 262–67.
46. Charbonneau, *Gallieni à Madagascar*, 171–74; Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 27–31, quotations 27, 31.
47. See Leblond, *Gallieni parle* II, 89–92; Michel, *Gallieni*, 258; Porch, *March to the Marne*, 172–73; and especially, Adolphe Messimy, *Mes Souvenirs* (Paris: Plon, 1937), 69–79. Messimy praised Gallieni's "vivid imagination," "very acute sensitivity," and "very supple and inventive mind" (77). Messimy had become Minister of War in late June 1911, when the former minister, Maurice Berteaux, was killed, mangled to death by an airplane wing while watching an "experiment" (76). Charbonnel, *De Madagascar*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

à Verdun, 243, says Gallieni also recommended Castelnau ahead of Joffre, but that Castelnau was rejected for being clerical.

48. Castelnau noted bitterly: "It is very regrettable that Gallieni was not nominated generalissimo in 1912 because he had everything necessary for commanding. . . . He had learned in the colonies how to lead." Cited in Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 75. Liddell Hart remarks that "Gallieni's recommendation of his former subordinate was the one disservice he rendered to France and the worst to himself." *Reputations Ten Years After*, 78. To be fair to the sacked Michel, he did realize as early as 1911 that the German invasion route would come through Belgium. See among others, William Seaver Woods' sprightly *Colossal Blunders of the War* (London: George Allen and Unwin, no date), 120.

49. Joseph Gallieni, *Les Carnets de Gallieni* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1922), 19, 22. He noted on April 25, 1914, that Clemenceau was calling for him to take Joffre's place (25). On Joffre's girth see Horne, *Price of Glory*, 28–29, and A. J. P. Taylor, *The First World War: An Illustrated History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963), 82.

50. *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 25, 29. Charbonnel says he would not even consider remarrying, despite names soon proffered by well-wishers. Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 248.

51. See Messimy, *Mes Souvenirs*, 207–24. Gallieni only accepted the latter job when he received absolute authority to act in it. In connection with the post of *adjoint*, Messimy notes "the glacial and almost hostile welcome" of Joffre (210). Poincaré's memoirs, really a diary, are much less useful and he demonstrates a certain snobbery toward Gallieni at certain points. See especially Raymond Poincaré, *Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de souvenirs* (Paris: Plon, 1931), VIII, ch. 3. He did concede that Gallieni was Paris's savior and that he was very popular with Parisians (253).

52. *Les Mémoires du Général Gallieni: Défense de Paris. 25 août-11 septembre, 1914* (Paris: Payot, 1920), 22. He wrote the book in 1915 and his children would publish it without altering the text. See also *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 48, and appropriate sections of the biographies.

53. *Mémoires du Général Gallieni*, 30–35, 46–54, quotation 30; Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 36–42.

54. *Mémoires du Général Gallieni*, 95–99, quotations 95, 99, 143. See also Michel, *Gallieni*, ch. 18. Liddell Hart notes that G.Q.G. had gotten the German order for the shift southeast as early as September 2—a copy had been located in the wallet of a dead German officer! *Reputations Ten Years After*, 84. Gallieni's peremptory telephoning supposedly included a lapse in politeness. Instead of the normal "Hello, General" he used a more familiar "Hello, so it's you, Joffre." In Henri Isselin, *The Battle of the Marne* (tr. Charles Cornell; London: Elek Books, 1964), 123.

55. *Mémoires de Gallieni*, 162-80; Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 49–56; Cladel, *Gallieni*, 10.

56. Joffre quoted in Gheusi, *Guerre et théâtre*, 67–68 (letter of September 7 from Joffre to Gallieni); *Mémoires de Gallieni*, quotations 181, 193. On the lack of artillery (including shells) see P. A. Thompson, *Lions Led by Donkeys* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1927), 103 and ch. 10 generally.

57. Gheusi, *Guerre et théâtre*, 244–76; and Michel, *Gallieni*, appropriate parts of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ch. 18. According to Sir John French, "The Aisne is a sluggish stream of some 170 feet in breadth, but, being 15 feet deep in the centre, it is unfordable." He goes on to describe the German position as dominating high ground, yet nicely camouflaged. See his *The Despatches of Lord French* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1917), 31. The broken ground of the banks and the steep wooded slopes are also approvingly described by Alexander von Kluck in *The March on Paris and the Battle of the Marne 1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1920, no translator given), 157.

58. *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 122, 130; *Le Temps* article of November 27, 1914. Sir John French was definitely bamboozled by his colleague Joffre, declaring that "the name of Marshal Joffre will descend to posterity with that battle [of the Marne] as one of the greatest military commanders in history." *1914* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), 143. Raymond Recouly, the journalist, was another in the Joffre camp who used panegyrics, noting that Joffre foresaw the Marne from August 25 and had "great moral elevation"! Recouly (Captain X), *General Joffre and his Battles* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 13–14, quotation 24.

59. Captain Pierre Lyet, *Joffre et Gallieni à la Marne* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1938), vii-xii, quotation xii. Joffre's narrative told to Bernard Desouches late in the war was then revised by Major Desmazes, chief of the Marshal's personal staff, and appeared in Marshal Joffre et al., *The Two Battles of the Marne* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1927), quotations 19, 29, 30, 34. In this narrative Joffre mentions Gallieni's name once (34). Charbonnel says that as late as the 1950s Gallieni's name (he heard) was absent in classes given on the Marne at the Ecole de Guerre. *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 292. See also the insufficiencies of Maxime Weygand's *Idéal vécu*, subtitle of his *Mémoires* (Paris: Flammarion, 1953), I. And of course Joffre's own "memoirs" were ghostwritten by sympathetic subordinates and need to be used with caution. A handy English translation is *The Personal Memoirs of Joffre* (tr. T. Bentley Mott; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), I. Gamelin's book on the Marne also suffers from obvious bias: Maurice Gamelin, *Manoeuvre et victoire de la Marne* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1954). Henry Contamine in several confusing pages also reveals the bias of Lyet and the Service historique, as well as archival lacunae, yet will not commit himself clearly to a pro-Gallieni stand. See Contamine, *La Victoire de la Marne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 267–75.

60. Pierre B. Gheusi, *La Gloire de Gallieni: Comment Paris fût sauvé* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1928), 92–94, 101, and Kitchener quotation 143. Gheusi notes an "offensive de fausses légendes," very much à la Liddell Hart (49). Again, that legend has influenced more recent historians. Compare the pro-Gallieni Liddell Hart in the book cited above or in his *The Real War 1914–1918* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930) to, say, Corelli Barnett's *The Sword Bearers: Studies in Supreme Command in the First World War* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1963), which gives Gallieni very short shrift. As for Von Kluck, his memoir on the Marne gives Gallieni prime credit for the turnaround, but bases it on what he heard and read. Von Kluck, *March on Paris*, 115.

61. Adolphe Goutard, *La Marne: Victoire inexploitée* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1968); *Mémoires de Gallieni*, 197–205. Goutard's book has a preface by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Liddell Hart, both averring that Joffre didn't know what he had. Goutard of course wrote also of the missed opportunities of 1940. Charbonnel's discussion (by a man on Gallieni's staff) is also very good. *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 300–312. On the latter page he begins a section on "The Campaign of Lies," including archive-destroying! Serving in a 1915 offensive with another great colonial, Marchand, Charbonnel astonished the latter with the truth of the Marne, vis-à-vis the "official version" (366). Even pro-Joffre historians like Robert B. Asprey in his *The First Battle of the Marne* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1962) acknowledge the missed opportunity: "Had the rupture between Kluck and Bülow been exploited . . . nothing in the world could have saved the German line" (163). General René Chambe is much firmer in his confirmation of Goutard, declaring that the lack of a young, vivacious leader and the inability or refusal to finish off Kluck's reeling left "sur place" were fatal to the French. Chambe, *Adieu Cavalarie! La Marne, bataille gagnée . . . victoire perdue* (Paris: Plon, 1979), 281.

62. *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, September 3 and September 17, 1914, 95, 98 and 99–111; December 2, 1914, on Viviani (123); and December 9 (126), as well as January 17, 1915 (137) on Joffre. On not "making the hole," see Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 78 (conversation of October 10, 1914). On Millerand, the Minister of War: "Very happy with himself," *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, November 5, 1914 (117). For the Joffre quotation, ibid., 120.
63. Michel, *Gallieni*, 283; *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 139, 141; and Horne, *What Price Glory*, 32.
64. On this period see Leblond, *Gallieni parle* II, 57–78; on Salonika, citing Joffre to Briand in March 1915: "That's a personal ambition of Gallieni, who wants a command . . . I am sure of breaking through [*percer*] and of sending the Germans back home" (Ibid., 57–58). See also *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 151–94, and Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 79 (for the "folle ambition" quotation). Michel says little about the Dardanelles conception before he gets to October 1915.
65. On Messimy's regrets see *Mes Souvenirs*, and also the record of Gallieni's talk with him given in *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 179–80. Messimy apparently told Gallieni that the best thing for the country would be for Joffre to break his leg (180)!
66. Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 82.
67. Ibid., 88–94; Michel, *Gallieni*, on his hopes, 288–91.
68. Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 109; quotation in Gheusi, *Guerre et théâtre*, 260; Michel, *Gallieni*, 293 and in general, Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 177–260. The Foch anecdote is in Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 416. Charbonnel was there as Gallieni's aide.
69. Leblond, *Gallieni parle* I, 117 ("vieille maison"), 129–31, last quotations 138. He says "the colonies were the great school" (214). See also Leblond, *Gallieni parle* II, 17–18; and Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 405–07, 403 for no paper on the desk and another reform, better promotion procedures for officers.
70. Leblond, *Gallieni parle* II, 174, and for doctors, fatigue, etc., 82–174. On the plus side Gallieni was very proud of women working in munitions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

71. Ibid., 34–51, 177–89; Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 409–410 on Clemenceau's admiration for Gallieni and distaste for Joffre.
72. Jean d'Esme, *Joffre* (Paris: Hachette, 1953), 197, by an author with some affection for his subject.
73. Gheusi, *La Gloire de Gallieni*, 160–61; Didelot, *Gallieni*, 240 on leaves and care of men; Leblond, *Gallieni parle* II, 150–51, also cited by Michel, *Gallieni*, 304–35.
74. *Les Carnets de Gallieni*, 293, 297, 300, 301.
75. D'Esme, *Gallieni*, 307–311 and Michel, *Gallieni*, 316–17 are best, but see appropriate sections of the other biographies, as well as the affecting memoir of Charbonnel, who stayed constantly by Gallieni's side during his last weeks and was plunged into depression by his death. Charbonnel, *De Madagascar à Verdun*, 433–50. He mentions how Gallieni's last testament, read aloud by André Maginot in the Chamber and sharply critical of Briand, continued to provoke posthumous controversy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHERRY E. SULLIVAN

Management's Unsung Theorist: An Examination of the Works of Lillian M. Gilbreth

Although Dr. Lillian Moller Gilbreth (1878–1972) made substantial contributions to the field of management, most business textbooks fail to mention her work. When textbooks do mention her, Lillian Gilbreth is typically treated as the wife of the famous motion study expert, Frank Bunker Gilbreth, and "Mother" of the twelve children detailed in the popular books and movies *Cheaper by the Dozen* and *Belles on Their Toes*. Even historians fail to recognize the importance of her contributions to the development of management theory. For instance, such classic historical reviews as David Landes's *The Unbound Prometheus*, Alfred Chandler's *The Visible Hand*, and Kranzberg and Pursell's *Technology in Western Civilization* do not even mention the work of Lillian Gilbreth.[1]

Dr. Gilbreth was a pioneer. She was a researcher, a management consultant, a prolific author, and a working mother. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Lillian Gilbreth was more concerned about people than production rates. She developed work methods that help to increase the quality of life of the average employee. Many of these methods—including motion studies, employment planning, and performance appraisal interviews—are still widely used today. Moreover, Dr. Gilbreth focused much of her research on topics usually ignored by the management theorists of the early twentieth century. For instance, she examined ways in which to improve the work environments of women, the handicapped, and older employees.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Unfortunately, the contributions of Lillian Gilbreth have been overshadowed by her marriage to someone in the same field, and by the popular movie versions of her life. Therefore, in order to provide a more complete understanding of the significance of Dr. Gilbreth's work, this paper will discuss: (a) her contributions to the development of management theory, (b) the implications of her research on the practice of management today, and (c) how she promoted equality, especially between the sexes.

Lillian Gilbreth's Contributions to Management Theory

Dr. Gilbreth was the first to introduce a humanistic approach to the principles of scientific management, which as developed by Frederick Taylor (1911), is a systematic approach to increasing worker efficiency through job design. The underlying premise of scientific management is that time and motion studies must be used to determine the one best way of doing a job. Using scientific methods, procedures and tools are standardized and workers are trained to perform highly specialized tasks.

Critics of scientific management have argued that it is dehumanizing and mechanistic. Frederick Taylor, known as the "Father of Scientific Management," faced opposition from labor and management alike, and even suffered a hostile congressional investigation in order to defend his principles of management (Wren 120–28). Critics of Taylor are correct in that his methods often lacked an appreciation of the individual worker. Taylor often described workers as lazy and shiftless. For example, while discussing his famous pig-iron experiments at Bethlehem Steel, Taylor referred to Schmidt, the worker involved, as "mentally sluggish" (46). He stated that the requirements of the worker assigned to handle pig-iron were that "he shall be so stupid and so phlegmatic that he more nearly resembles in his mental make-up the ox than any other type" (59).

In contrast, Dr. Gilbreth described workers as individuals striving to reach their fullest potential. Her doctoral dissertation, *The Psychology of Management* (1914), integrated a humanistic perspective into the principles of scientific management, to which she contributed three major insights. Each of these insights suggested management techniques that did not come into common practice until decades after she had first described them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

First, during a time when people were exploited for economic gain, Dr. Gilbreth focused on worker welfare. Unlike Taylor, she emphasized that management must be concerned with the worker's well-being (Gilbreth and Gilbreth 1916a: 272). For instance, Lillian Gilbreth insisted that task design and time standards be adjusted to the particular worker who was to do the job. She believed that such individualization would increase worker safety. To reduce fatigue and backache, she advocated the use of improved lighting, rest breaks, and proper chairs and equipment (1914). Furthermore, over twenty years before Hans Selye, the "Father of Stress," made the first significant breakthrough in stress research, Dr. Gilbreth had recognized the impact of work stress on the psychological and physical welfare of workers. She wrote that stress from financial worries could be reduced by increasing wages and by discouraging worker discharge through the implementation of better job placement techniques (1914; Gilbreth and Gilbreth 1916b).

Second, Dr. Gilbreth asserted that the principles of scientific management be used to help individuals reach their potential through training (Gilbreth and Gilbreth 1916c). Training would be tailored to the individuals' traits, capabilities, and learning abilities. Unlike Taylor and other proponents of scientific management, Dr. Gilbreth discussed the psychological principles of teaching workers. For example, she suggested that multiple teaching methods, which appeal to many senses, be used to aid the learning process (1914). Thus, in 1914 she recognized that teaching was a managerial responsibility. It was not until after World War I that managers recognized training as their responsibility (George 173).

Third, Dr. Gilbreth believed that scientific management should be used to increase the worker's profitable work life. She was one of the first to advocate the use of psychological and physical tests to determine the selection and placement of workers. Workers would be assigned to positions based upon their capabilities and preferences. If worker-job mismatches occurred, the workers would be transferred to positions better suited to their talents (Gilbreth 1914).

The results of Lillian Gilbreth's contributions are that individuality, worker welfare, and psychological concerns were introduced into the principles of scientific management. Because of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

her thirteen master's and doctoral degrees in science, engineering, letters, and psychology, she was probably the best trained psychologist, at the time, in the field of time and motion study (Greenwood et al. 2). Neither Frederick Taylor nor Frank Gilbreth had any special training in psychology. Dr. Gilbreth's training in psychology, her knowledge of teaching, and her superior writing skills allowed her to explain logically the psychological reasons behind some of Taylor's principles and to expand Taylor's brief overview of teaching better than he could have—or did (Trescott 2b). Moreover, unlike many of her contemporaries who focused solely on increasing production rates, Lillian Gilbreth introduced methods that improved the average worker's quality of life. She introduced substantial humanism into management theory and practice long before such humanism came into vogue.

Implications of the Works of Lillian Gilbreth

Management researchers have witnessed the emergence and disappearance of many techniques that are merely fads. Although her writings were not widely recognized by her contemporaries (Thompson), the value of her work to the field of management should be acknowledged. Her writings have three major implications for the current practice of management. First, the works of Lillian and Frank Gilbreth laid the foundation for job simplification, meaningful work standards, and incentive wage plans. Their process chart, flow diagrams, and principles of time and motion study are used today (George 98–99; Heyel 358–59). Much can still be learned from the Gilbreths' systematic ways of eliminating waste and inefficiency. For instance, Olympic hopefuls and dancers use the ideas developed by the Gilbreths as part of their training. These athletes hope that by studying their motions, they can improve the precision of their performances. Likewise, the National Safety Council and many hospitals still apply the Gilbreths' motion study principles (Krebs 30). Every day human resource managers make use of performance appraisal interviews and employment planning—two methods that were outlined in the Gilbreths' paper "Three Position Plan of Promotion" (1916d: 289), and elaborated on in *The Foreman in Manpower Planning* (Gilbreth and Cook 1947).

Second, many of Lillian Gilbreth's ideas foreshadowed today's theories of motivation. For instance, forty-five years before Herzberg introduced his famous two-factor theory of motivation, Dr.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gilbreth had separated incentives into two types: indirect incentives that included money and other material rewards—what Herzberg later called hygiene factors, and direct or natural incentives—what Herzberg later called motivators—that include self-recognition, love of work, and pride. In addition to emphasizing the use of intrinsic rewards, Dr. Gilbreth stated that rewards are personal and that different individuals value different rewards. Management's job was to discover what rewards the workers value and to reward them promptly and in the amount agreed upon when the goals were established (Gilbreth 1914). The recognition that goals should be individualized and that an organization must establish a link between performance and rewards are two underlying premises of Vroom's 1964 expectancy theory. Thus, Dr. Gilbreth suggested the use of advanced motivational techniques several decades before their introduction into the mainstream practice of management.

Third, Lillian and Frank Gilbreth's work on fatigue, stress, and time management foreshadowed the popularity these topics would achieve among academia, managers, and the general public. For example, Lillian Gilbreth's research on home management is still relevant. Almost monthly, magazines such as *Family Circle* or *Good Housekeeping* have articles on the efficient use of space in the home, the placement of furniture, design of new kitchen equipment, efficient use of time and money, and techniques to get one's children to accept responsibility—all topics Lillian Gilbreth first wrote about over sixty years ago (1928).

Dr. Gilbreth wrote about many management practices long before they gained popularity with other researchers. Additionally she was among the first to study systematically many consumer products, including kitchen and office equipment.[2] The research of Lillian and Frank Gilbreth on the redesign of factory equipment and fatigue has helped to reduce the physical stress of performing various jobs for many workers (Gilbreth and Gilbreth 1916b).

How Lillian Gilbreth Promoted Equality

In addition to being the first woman to make significant contributions to management theory, Dr. Gilbreth promoted equality between the sexes and acted as a role model for many women. She was a pioneer in a field dominated by males. For instance, when she graduated from the University of California in 1900, she was the first woman commencement speaker. In 1915 she

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

received a doctorate in industrial psychology from Brown University. In 1926 she became the first woman member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Additionally she was the first woman to receive an Honorary Masters of Engineering from the University of Michigan and was the only woman delegate to the 1930 World Engineering Congress in Tokyo. Dr. Gilbreth was the first woman professor at Purdue University's engineering school (1935), and the first woman management professor at Newark College of Engineering (1941–43). She was the first and only woman to receive the American Management Association's Gantt Gold Medal, the Internal Committee of Scientific Management Gold Medal, and the Gilbreth Medal, which was named for both Lillian and her husband Frank (Greenwood et al.). She lectured on technical and human relations problems throughout the United States and also in Canada, Mexico, Asia, Australia, and Europe (Krebs).

However, Lillian Gilbreth's success was not easily won. For example, while a student at Brown University, Lillian worked towards obtaining a Phi Beta Kappa Key. The list of Phi Beta Kappa members that year contained no women. Rumor had it that Lillian had tied with a man and the judges decided that a man needed the key more than any woman would. When she went to Columbia University in 1900 to study with Brander Mathews, he refused to teach her or any woman. Her dissertation had to be published under L. M. Gilbreth because the publishers insisted that there be no publicity about the fact that the author was a woman (Yost). Many of the books and articles that Lillian Gilbreth collaborated on with her husband Frank were published without recognition of her authorship. For example, her name could not be included on an article in *American Magazine* or on the book *Primer of Scientific Management* because the editors would not permit it (Spriegel and Myers).

Perhaps because Lillian Gilbreth had to fight to get her contributions recognized, she strove for the advancement of other women. Dr. Gilbreth worked to promote the professional woman. She wrote papers such as "Industrial Engineering as a Career for Women" and "Opportunities for Women in Industrial Engineering." She lectured on how educators should encourage women to go into the male-dominated fields of management and industrial engineering. At the Gilbreth summer schools, at least half of her students were women. Dr. Gilbreth was advisor on careers for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

women at Purdue University. She was a mentor to a number of women university students, many of whom, like Anne Shaw, gained recognition for their research in the field of scientific management (Trescott 32).

Lillian Gilbreth also strove to improve the working conditions for women office and factory workers. For instance, in 1926 she was asked by Johnson and Johnson to conduct a study of fatigue, menstruation, and the use of sanitary napkins. At that time very little was known about women's productivity during menstruation. Many employers believed that menstruating women were unable to work. Lillian Gilbreth's study helped to refute the myth that women are incapacitated during menstruation (Bullogh).

Dr. Gilbreth also worked to improve the lives of the homemaker and the handicapped person. She worked as a consultant for General Electric and Brooklyn Borough Gas Company to aid in the design of kitchen appliances (Greenwood et al. 4). In 1950, she worked as a consultant to the Institute of Rehabilitation Medicine, New York University Medical Center, designing kitchen features for women in wheelchairs, on crutches, or paralyzed. She taught disabled housewives new techniques for completing typical household tasks, such as opening a can or peeling a potato (Krebs). Moreover, her books *Living with Our Children* (1928), *The Home-maker and Her Job* (1935), and *Management in the Home* (1964), were among the few books of the time to deal with the jobs of a homemaker, wife, and mother as important roles that could be mastered with training. She emphasized that marriage was a partnership and her life with Frank Gilbreth demonstrated her belief in this concept. Her article "Why Women Succeed in Business" (1929) outlines ways in which women can successfully combine marriage and career, including the suggestion that husbands share in household duties.

Lillian Gilbreth advocated the lessening of sex stereotypes. For instance, in *The Home-maker and Her Job*, Dr. Gilbreth wrote that household training should be given to both boys and girls. She felt that such training would eliminate the problem of people not being able to cope for themselves. She believed that if a man or boy enjoyed household tasks, then he should be allowed to perform them. Furthermore, Lillian Gilbreth argued that both boys and girls should receive a proper education (1928). Her six sons and surviving five daughters all completed college.[3]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In addition to dispelling myths about women in fields of engineering and business, Lillian Gilbreth dispelled myths about older workers and the handicapped. Dr. Gilbreth showed that age need not be a barrier to continued career success. When she was forty-six years old, her husband died, leaving her with the formidable task of supporting eleven children ranging in age from two to nineteen. She continued the management of the Gilbreth consulting firm, despite the discouragement she received from many businessmen who refused to work with a woman (Wren 143). Her article "Scrapped at Forty" (1929) may have resulted from her own personal experiences with age discrimination. In this article, Dr. Gilbreth noted the increasing rate at which employers were retiring workers at a relatively young age. She wrote of the effect of retirement on a person's job satisfaction and work performance prior to leaving the work force (Greenwood et al.). Moreover, at the age of 90, Lillian Gilbreth lectured in the Soviet Union, Spain, Denmark, and Britain. Her speaking schedule in the United States often required her to give five lectures a week. During an interview, Dr. Gilbreth remarked "Age needn't determine what one is able to do. . . . It's really a matter of marshaling your resources, using time sensibly and well. I have taught that, and I have lived by that principle" (qtd. in Krebs).

Lillian Gilbreth also worked to dispel myths about the abilities of the handicapped person. Her recognition of the psychological and physical problems facing handicapped people influences rehabilitation programs today. For example, Lillian and Frank Gilbreth outlined the way in which motion studies could be applied to work with crippled soldiers, blind persons, and the handicapped. In their many books and articles on the topic, they not only provided practical solutions to helping the victims of World War I manage their physical disabilities, the Gilbreths also provided guidelines for managing the psychological effects of disability (1920a). The Gilbreths argued that disabled people should be viewed as productive members of society who need jobs not pity (1920b). Lillian Gilbreth's books with Edna Yost, *Normal Lives for the Disabled* and *Straight Talk for the Disabled Veterans*, discussed the problems handicapped men encountered in trying to obtain jobs and in their relations with women. Her work was unique in that it went far beyond the physical aspects of being disabled and detailed the psychological effects of disability.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONCLUSION

Much of the work of Dr. Lillian Moller Gilbreth has been obscured by the circumstance of her marriage and by the sexist attitudes of her colleagues and publishers. She was often considered just an adjunct to Frank—many of the works they collaborated on are credited to him alone. Additionally, most scholars focus on the work of Frederick Taylor and Frank Gilbreth, and fail to mention the many contributions of Lillian Gilbreth to the scientific management school of thought.

However, a review of the life and works of Dr. Gilbreth demonstrates the depth of her contributions to the field of management theory. She was an expert in the field of motion study and the most highly educated scientific management theorist. Her pioneering book, *The Psychology of Management*, introduced humanist elements into the principles of scientific management. Throughout her lifetime, she applied these revised management principles to the improvement of the quality of life of workers, consumers, homemakers, and the handicapped alike.

Lillian and Frank Bunker Gilbreth were one of the first dual-career couples. Some have likened their successful working relationship to that of the Curies, because each of the Gilbreths contributed a unique perspective to their work (Wren 142). Frank contributed his knowledge of motion studies and Lillian contributed her knowledge of psychology and teaching. After Frank's death in 1924, Lillian reared their eleven children while continuing her academic, publishing, and consulting career. Dr. Gilbreth not only outlived her husband Frank by over 48 years, she also outlived most of the other researchers in the field of scientific management. Thus, she served as an important gatekeeper between the early pioneers in the field of management and the new generation of researchers who focused on the human element (Trescott 34).

Dr. Gilbreth was a consulting engineer, an international lecturer, and a university professor. She published numerous books and articles. She wrote on topics ranging from the cost of worker fatigue to the application of the principles of scientific management to the job of homemakers and the rehabilitation of handicapped persons. Lillian Gilbreth believed that people should be treated fairly in the work place and that one of the functions of management was to improve the worker's overall life-style. Her

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

concern for the individual worker is eloquently expressed in the article "Work and Management" (1962: 22): "Perhaps most important of all is the educated heart—a recognition of the dignity of the human spirit, the importance of spiritual values, the complete life. . . ."

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Thanks to Holly Buttner, Peggy Caffrey, Carol Danehower, Sheila Davis, and Arnon Reichers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. Special thanks to William Carden for his research assistance in locating a number of sources.

1. A notable exception is David Noble. In his book *American by Design* (1977), Noble recognizes Lillian Gilbreth's emphasis on the "human element" (274–75).
2. Relevant process charts, correspondence, articles, and other materials can be found in the Gilbreth Collection at Purdue University. My thanks to the staff of the Gilbreth Collection for their help in locating several items.
3. Krebs. One daughter, Mary Elizabeth, died at a young age.

WORKS CITED

Bullogh, Vern L. 1985. "Merchandising the Sanitary Napkin: Lillian Gilbreth's 1927 Survey." *Signs* 10, 3: 615–27.

Chandler, Alfred. 1977. *The Visible Hand.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

George, Claude S. 1968. *The History of Management Thought.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gilbreth, Frank and Ernestine Gilbreth Carey. 1949. *Cheaper by the Dozen.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

———. 1950. *Belles on Their Toes.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.

Gilbreth, Frank and Lillian Gilbreth. 1916a. "The Effect of Motion Study on the Worker." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences:* 272–76.

———. 1916b. *Fatigue Study.* New York: Sturgis and Walton.

———. 1916c. "Motion Models: Their Use in the Transference of Experience and the Presentation of Comparative Results in Educational Methods." *American Association for the Advancement of Science* (Columbus, Ohio).

———. 1916d. "The Three Position Plan of Promotion." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:* 289–96.

———. 1920a. *Motion Study for the Handicapped.* London: George Routledge and Sons.

———. 1920b. "Unnecessary Fatigue—A Multi-Billion Dollar Enemy to America." *Journal of Industrial Hygiene* 1 (March): 542–845.

Gilbreth, Lillian. 1914. *The Psychology of Management.* New York: Sturgis and Walton.

———. 1928. *Living with Our Children.* New York: W. W. Norton.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

———. 1935. *The Home-maker and Her Job.* New York: D. Appleton-Century.
———. 1962. "Work and Management." *Advanced Management—Office Executive* (September): 22.
Gilbreth, Lillian and A. Cook. 1947. *The Foreman in Manpower Planning.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
Gilbreth, Lillian, Orpha Mae Thomas, and Eleanor Clymer. 1964. *Management in the Home.* New York: Dodd, Mead.
Greenwood, Ronald G., Regina A. Greenwood, and Jay A. Severance. 1978. "Lillian Gilbreth, First Lady of Management." *Academy of Management Proceedings*: 2–6.
Guest, Robert H. 1967. "The Rationalization of Management." *Technology in Western Civilization.* Eds. Melvin Kranzberg and Carroll Pursell, Jr. New York: Oxford UP. 2: 52–64.
Herzberg, Frederick, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Bloch Snyderman. 1959. *The Motivation to Work.* New York: Wiley.
Heyel, Carl, ed. 1982. *The Encyclopedia of Management.* New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
Krebs, Albin. "Dr. Gilbreth, Engineer, Mother of Dozen." *New York Times* 3 January 1972: 30.
Landes, David. 1960. *The Unbound Prometheus.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
Noble, David. 1977. *American by Design.* New York: Knopf, 1977.
Spriegel, William R. and Clark E. Myers. 1953. *The Writings of the Gilbreths.* Homewood, IL: Irwin.
Taylor, Frederick. 1911. *Principles of Scientific Management.* New York: Harper and Brothers.
Thompson, C. Betrand. 1917. *The Theory and Practice of Scientific Management.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Trescott, Martha Moore. 1983. "Lillian Moller Gilbreth and the Founding of Modern Industrial Engineering." *Machina Ex Dea: Feminist Perspectives on Technology.* Ed. Jean Rothschild. New York: Pergamon. 23–37.
Vroom, Victor. 1964. *Work and Motivation.* New York: Wiley.
Wren, Daniel. 1987. *The Evolution of Management Thought.* New York: Wiley.
Yost, Edna. 1943. *American Women of Science.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes. 99–121.
Yost, Edna and Lillian Gilbreth. 1944. *Normal Lives for the Disabled.* New York: Macmillan.
———. 1945. *Straight Talk for the Disabled Veteran.* New York: Public Affairs Committee.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DAVID M. BERGERON

Masculine Interpretation of Queen Anne, Wife of James I

For at least the past hundred years a masculine bias against King James I's wife Anne has existed in historians' assessments of her, reaching a kind of crescendo climax in the exclamation of David Harris Willson in 1956: "Alas! The King had married a stupid wife."[1] Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, William Harris, while offering a relatively sympathetic view of Anne, made the following astute observation: "I have been the longer upon the character of this princess, because it has been little known; our historians contenting themselves to speak one after the other, without examination, whereby, for the most part, it cometh to pass, that they tend little to improve or instruct; and, which is worse, fix such ideas of things and persons as are difficult to be eradicated, tho' ever so false" (35). Such fixed ideas about Anne dominate twentieth-century historical analyses of her, and these ideas reflect a masculine ideology in their representation of her. This paper explores the ideology behind the analysis of Anne, noting how feminist writers provide an alternative view. I begin with the nineteenth century in order to provide an appropriate context, proceed to the twentieth, and then circle back to the seventeenth century.

Samuel Gardiner, in one of the standard historical accounts of the early Stuart period, actually has little to say about Anne, which may in itself be a kind of commentary. Writing in 1883 Gardiner states that: "The Queen's death was of no political importance. Her character was too impulsive to give her much

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

influence with her husband, and she seldom attempted to employ it with any settled and deliberate purpose. Her real sphere was the banquet and the masque" (III:294). Acknowledging the kind regard that most people had for the queen, Gardiner nevertheless adds: "But by the mass of the nation she was as completely forgotten as though she had never lived." Poignant truth governs that final judgment. In a nutshell Gardiner has hit on three themes that permeate much twentieth-century historical analysis: Anne was impulsive, frivolous, and insignificant. I suggest that these terms create an image of Anne that derives from a masculine-based ideology; that is, historians seldom use these terms to characterize males who occupy prominent positions.

These ideas echo in the assessments made by Charles Williams (1934) and Godfrey Davies (1941). Williams suggests rightly that the marriage of James and Anne could not be called happy, though in some ways it was not an unhappy marriage—that depends, of course, at what moment one captures their relationship. Anne "wanted to enjoy herself"; she "liked as much festivity and dancing as she could get" (104). Anne, Williams writes, pursued in England "the same bird of happiness which she had sought in vain in Scotland. Masques, progresses, schemes of building, occupied her" (265). Her influence was negligible. James did not interfere with her "strong tendency towards Catholicism." Davies continues in this vein by suggesting that James "did not upbraid her for her vacillations in religion" (41). Anne's shifting religious views become yet another example of her frivolous nature. Davies asserts: "He [James] always treated Anne good-naturedly, tolerated her extravagances, forbore to grumble at her frivolity." Certainly if one knows anything about the fierce struggle over the nurturing of Prince Henry, one can scarcely claim that James always treated Anne benignly.[2] Part of the difficulty in their marriage, Davies notes, was that they had little in common: for example, Anne "had no interest in his [James's] theological or other treatises and discourses" (42). A possible implication of Davies's judgment is that Anne lacked the intellectual power to engage in serious theological discourse.

Partly by default, Willson's 1956 biography has become the standard one of James, and it capsulizes the pervasive bias against Anne. For Willson, Anne is "folly incarnate" (118), "prying and meddlesome" (157), and even in the face of death "frivolous to the last" (403). Sounding rather like Charles Williams and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Davies, Willson asserts that Anne "could not share his [James's] intellectual interests, and she confirmed the foolish contempt with which he regarded women" (95). She could not share such interests because she obviously lacked intelligence; she was, in Willson's succinct phrase, "a stupid wife." Although other historians comment on James's apparent toleration of Anne's Catholicism, Willson shifts the point slightly. He writes: "Very likely she adopted Catholicism in the half-trifling way in which idle persons sometimes occupy themselves with a new faith. Her conversion did not make her serious or devout, nor did it strengthen her character" (95). I do not think that the scanty evidence gives us any basis for knowing why Anne embraced Catholicism: one could just as readily and convincingly argue that she changed for theological or spiritual reasons—unless, of course, one has already decided that she was at best frivolous. Absent clear indications, one cannot know, for example, if her refusal to take the communion sacrament during the coronation ceremony in England derived from pettiness or from principle.

Willson continues his catalogue of Anne's qualities: "She possessed high spirits and a playful sprightliness, but these qualities were shallow and vacuous. . . . Her love for gaiety and dancing, for games, masques and pageants, was childish rather than courtly" (94). I detect a rigid puritan spirit informing Willson's judgment. What exactly does it mean to have a "courtly" love for gaiety and dancing? Perhaps courtly as opposed to childish suggests "manly" virtues. Anne's tastes were "foolish and expensive." To Willson: "She had a quick temper, high words came easily, and in her childish tantrums she could be violent, spiteful, indiscreet and quite ingenious in her efforts to annoy" (95). At last we have the "hysterical woman" analysis. If any of this be true, one can agree with Willson's conclusion: poor James, who had to put up with such a woman. I do not deny that Anne on occasion may have been all of these terrible things, as was James himself; rather, I direct attention to how the historian has stacked the cards against her, reflecting, I think, a conscious or unconscious male prejudice.

I do not know if William McElwee (1958) had a chance to use Willson's biography; but it does not matter: he captures the spirit and phrases of the earlier historians. Anne made, according to McElwee, "a perfectly good ordinary wife" (67). Unfortunately, James needed more than an ordinary wife; but Anne "had neither

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the character nor the intellect to deal with the special needs of James, who was very far from being an ordinary husband." Interestingly, in such an analysis the woman carries the responsibilities for meeting her husband's needs. In the struggle over the nurture of Prince Henry, McElwee sees an ulterior motive on Anne's part: her attempt to move to the center of the political stage. But McElwee concludes: "Anne had strong prejudices, no scruples, and very little intelligence, and the more remote she was kept from politics the better" (79). Had she become custodian of Henry, she might have been "tempted to all sorts of dangerous madness." In a word, she was a hysterical woman possessing, in McElwee's later phrase, "placid stupidity" (123). Despite worries about Anne's intriguing and meddlesome nature, McElwee later says that she had not "a spark of ambition, with hardly any interest in politics and the personalities which surrounded her"; therefore, she settled down "to enjoy the rest of her life as luxuriously as possible" (123)—a life that "was already given up largely to selfish pleasures" (169). After the deaths of the two daughters, Sophia and Mary, born in England, James and Anne largely went their separate ways—that is, after 1607—even though "Anne was still only 33, pretty in her fair-haired, vacuous way" (169). McElwee concludes: "Her propensity for intrigue, her hysterical intolerance of opposition, and her dabblings with Rome had made it necessary to exclude her as much as possible from politics." Although McElwee has some trouble deciding about Anne's precise place in the political world, he remains consistent in viewing her as lacking intelligence, being impulsive and often hysterical, and living in extravagant self-indulgence.

Writing about the royal marriage, G. P. V. Akrigg (1962) notes that it had not turned out well: "Anne had proved to be both dull and indolent, though showing a certain tolerant amiability so long as her whims were satisfied. She was interested in little that was more serious than matters of dress. . . . Her chief delight lay in court balls and masques" (21). James, Akrigg adds, "must often have found his wife tiresome with her querulous demands and her moodiness" (22). By the time that King Christian IV of Denmark visited his sister in England in 1606, he found a "somewhat bony sallow woman, sharp-nosed and tight-mouthed, a discontented wife and a purposeless woman" (79). At least Akrigg acknowledges James's role in helping Anne become a "discontented and frustrated woman" (264). Akrigg concludes: "Anne,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

however, would probably have been a much happier woman (though never a model of stability and good sense) had she been married to a more normal husband. The Queen's irresponsibility and petulance, her ineffectual meddling which alternated with languid indifference, were more consequence than the cause of the unsatisfactory relationship between herself and her husband" (265). But even this sensible perspective about Anne must share space with a reference to her "heedless prodigality" (264) and her "doing or saying something nice, even if in a rather feather-brained sort of way" (265).

The post-1970 period contains some of the same biases. Otto Scott (1976) underscores Anne's frivolous and intolerant character when he observes that Anne "liked anyone that James disliked and was always swayed against her husband's opinions" (218). Anne had developed "a talent for nagging, weeping, scolding, and amateurish plotting" (233); at the same time her "intelligence had not improved" (224). When she got her way, her intransigence would soften. Scott concludes: "Relations between James and his wife, uneasy at best, grew even more strained. Anne was a meddler and could not resist annoying her husband deliberately" (258). Roy Strong (1986) attributes Prince Henry's love of the visual arts and festival to his mother: "On the whole Anne lived for pleasure, passing her time moving from one of the palaces assigned to her to the next" (16). Sounding what has become the well-established party line, Strong adds: "she deliberately avoided politics, devoting herself instead to dancing, court entertainments and the design and decoration of houses and gardens. She also presided over her own circle, one noted for . . . extravagance" (16). Writing about a crisis in Scottish history in the 1590s, Maurice Lee in 1990 describes Anne as a "young, silly, and meddlesome" woman who "was beginning to get on his [James's] nerves" (74). Therefore, a hundred years after Gardiner, male historians still voice very much the same attitudes toward Anne. The needle has been stuck on her stupidity, frivolity, extravagance, silliness, impulsiveness, and finally insignificance. James remains the victim who tolerated this unpleasant woman, a woman who in the historians' view placidly, unthinkingly, and self-indulgently sought the sweet bird of happiness.

To be fair, one has to note that some of this male bias may ironically draw its inspiration from the first woman historian to write about the Stuart period, Catherine Macaulay [Graham],

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who published *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover* in the 1760s. Macaulay writes about Anne: "She was a woman of a vain, haughty, and violent temper. The court-amusements took their bias from these qualities; they were pompous and gaudy, without any degree of taste or propriety. The direction of the revels were the bounds of Anne's empire."[3] Macaulay's perspective derives in part from her use of certain mid-seventeenth-century sources, such as Anthony Weldon, which had an especially bleak view of the Jacobean court. Also, Macaulay's own ideology operates here: she believes the Stuarts to have been obstructors of justice and enemies of "Liberty," as is made obvious in Macaulay's "Introduction" (vii-xviii). She champions any and all who fought "against tyranny which had been established for a series of more than one hundred and fifty years" (ix). From this ideological stance, which seeks to make the world safe for the Hanoverians, Macaulay could do no less than write unflattering comments about Anne.

Although acknowledging some of Anne's flaws, Ethel Williams in 1970 implicitly challenged the male bias operating among historians. And yet, as we saw above, her more even-handed perspective has not been adopted in all quarters. Instead of writing about Anne's "heedless prodigality," Williams writes simply: "Two of Queen Anne's greatest pleasures were fine clothes and expensive jewelry. Unlike her mother, Queen Sophia, she had no idea of the value of money" (67). This analysis, grounded in evidence, avoids the pejorative adjectives common among male historians. Whatever Anne's "prodigality" might have been, her husband clearly rivalled if not exceeded her. In ways that most male historians have not, Williams emphasizes the damage done to the relationship of James and Anne by James's policy of excluding Anne from the care and nurture of their children. James's failure to understand or appreciate these maternal instincts "was the rock upon which King James's marriage foundered" (56). This judgment, which I share, appropriately moves away from merely outlining Anne's stupidity, frivolity, and hysterical intolerance as causes for the breakdown of the marriage. Too many historians have overlooked or downplayed the fundamental struggle over children that governed life in the royal family, especially in the last decade in Scotland. Possibly this conflict serves as the basis of John Chamberlain's observation in a letter to Dudley Carleton, 28 February 1603: "New troubles arise dayly in Scotland, but the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

worst of all is the domesticall daungers and hartbreaking that the Kinge findes in his owne house" (McClure I:187). Williams concludes that Anne "was a devoted mother" (186), a point that James could not fully comprehend or respect.

Like other historians, Williams believes that Anne embraced Catholicism. But instead of impugning Anne's motives or seeing this action as but another example of her frivolous nature (the half-trifling response of an idle person), Williams outlines the probable reasons for Anne's change. For example, Anne "found the bleakness of Calvinism intolerable" (109), and she resented the attacks upon her from some of the Scottish clergy. Therefore, when her Lutheran chaplain joined the Presbyterians, Anne may have been inspired to move also, but in the opposite direction. In any event, sometime late in Scotland, Anne apparently became a Catholic. Nothing in the scant evidence leads one inevitably to see this action as whimsical and petulant, which some male historians posit. Instead, Williams makes a point underemphasized by her historian colleagues: "Yet Anne was most careful not to allow her religion to interfere with her husband's policy in any way. In public she attended Church of England services with her husband" (111). I think that finally we cannot know why Anne accepted Catholicism; but surely historians skew judgment when they indulge in a kind of name-calling—a disservice to Anne and to historical analysis.

Williams observes that Anne remained popular with her subjects: "The people recognised her courage, dignity and sympathy with those less fortunate than herself" (182). Her kindness of heart led her to help those in trouble; Williams notes particularly Anne's help given to Arbella Stuart when she ran afoul of James's objection to her marriage to William Seymour. Also, Williams points out that "Queen Anne was a much shrewder judge of character than modern historians will admit" (156). (Williams could have said modern "male" historians.) For example, she "saw that Frederick [her future son-in-law] was not very intelligent, but he was intensely ambitious" (156). Certainly history bears out Anne's assessment of Frederick, as one recalls his disastrous acceptance of the Bohemian crown, the loss of his German principality, and his becoming ensnared in the Thirty Years' War. Anne also feared the advancement of James's last favorite, George Villiers; she thought that "although Villiers had perfect manners, intelligence and great charm he would prove ambitious and headstrong"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(170). She warned George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was promoting Villiers, that he would rue the day of Villiers' acceptance into the post of groom of the bedchamber. Years later the Archbishop "with the advantage of hindsight remarked, 'Noble Queen, how like a prophetess or oracle did you speak'" (171). But one looks in vain among male-biased historians for any emphasis on Anne's shrewd powers of judgment. Ethel Williams offers a necessary corrective, a softening of the harsh and unrelenting portrait of Anne provided by other historians. Even Williams' restrained language opens the possibility for a fairer assessment of Anne. She modulates the tone of the discussion, moving away from a male bias.

Antonia Fraser and Caroline Bingham develop this feminist perspective on Anne. Fraser (1975) believes that Anne's alleged "lack of brains" has been exaggerated. And she says simply: "for all the dour criticisms which have been made of Anne's frivolity, it is difficult not to conclude that James was fortunate in his selection" (53). Fraser explicitly addresses the question of Anne's love of pleasure and her extravagance in pursuing it: "However, since the fruits of this passion, such as her patronage of Inigo Jones, are so admirable in themselves, it is pleasant to find that in modern times Queen Anne has made up in approval of art historians what she has lost in the disapproval of more political pundits" (55). This sound perspective counters the sympathy for James for having married a stupid wife; and it puts into helpful context the matter of Anne's indulgence in festivities, although subsequent historians still emphasize Anne's living only for pleasure. Caroline Bingham (1981) argues that Anne's delight in entertainments and indulgence in friendships came partly as the result of there being little left for her to do, given her relationship with James (78). And Bingham writes in another book: "her intelligence is usually the subject of slighting comment, yet . . . she was evidently a facile linguist, and she became a discerning patron of the arts" (1979:121). Anne eventually accepted the "role of a virtuous wife to an inattentive husband" (126). Bingham also finds her to be an astute judge of character and capable of influence on the affairs of court. The alternative feminist view of Anne comes like a breath of fresh air against the stagnant, male-dominated prevailing wind.

Assessing the position of women in Jacobean England, Barbara Kiefer Lewalski (1993) includes an initial chapter in which she

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

focuses on Queen Anne. Contrary to much that we have found in male historians about the frivolous court masques that occupied Anne's attention, Lewalski argues that such masques served as vehicles "for self-affirmation and for subversive intervention in Jacobean politics" (15). Even Anne's separate household represented "female resistance to Jacobean patriarchy" (18). Lewalski notes Anne's intervention on behalf of Walter Raleigh, whom she admired. And she writes that "Queen Anne's more direct forms of resistance centered on her children and household, the Roman Catholic religion, court appointments, theater patronage, and political maneuvering" (20). Instead of idle indulgence and pettiness, Lewalski finds in Anne an oppositional stance that "offered a patently subversive royal example to Jacobean patriarchal culture" (43). In effect, Lewalski stands on its head the typical perspective of male historians: where they find submission, she finds subversion.

A recent article on Anne suggests a major breakthrough for male interpreters of the queen. Leeds Barroll (1991) writes altogether sympathetically about Anne, emphasizing her political adroitness and her cultural activity. Barroll concentrates on the queen's formation of her own court in the early years in England and "the political influence of her court upon English culture" (192). Examining Anne's political activity in Scotland, Barroll emphasizes her political skill, whether one agrees with her tactics or purposes. Arguing against Roy Strong in his book on Prince Henry, Barroll suggests that "the queen and her court not only came to constitute a centre of patronage, but they also established an important connection with the heir apparent, Prince Henry" (205). Finally, "it was the queen's cultural activity that is most significant" (207). In other words, Queen Anne must be taken seriously. Her interest in and support of the arts, often viewed as further signs of her frivolous behavior, should be seen positively, as an area of serious contribution by Queen Anne.

Masculine views of Anne in the early seventeenth century were on the whole sympathetic. One senses this in reading, for example, John Chamberlain's letters and diplomatic dispatches. Although not entirely flattering, the report of the Duke of Sully, a special representative of the French government who came to England in mid-1603, does suggest that Anne possessed energy and interest. Sully writes: "The character of this princess was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprizing; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, . . . but also in England. . . . The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist" (*Memoirs* II:181). This analysis doubtless exaggerates Anne's involvement in political intrigue, but it does suggest that she was far from placid. Anne's conversations with the French Ambassador, Harley de Beaumont, reveal a perceptive and knowledgeable mind at work. She readily understood the danger of some of James's policies and the pitfalls of a morally lax court. Arthur Wilson (1653) attributes to Anne the control of a faction opposed to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset: "she became the head of a great *Faction* against him" (79). We recall that she warned about the dangers of Buckingham's rise in favor.

The Venetian Ambassador Nicolo Molin reported in 1607 that Anne was gracious and "moderately good looking" and that she enjoyed dancing and festivities. He added: "She is intelligent and prudent, and knows the disorders of the government, in which she has no part. . . . She is full of kindness for those who support her, but on the other hand she is terrible, proud, and unendurable to those she dislikes" (*Calendar of State Papers Venetian* X: 513). The Earl of Mar and others could testify to the last point. But at least the ambassador recognized the queen's intelligence. Antonio Foscarini reported to Venice in December 1618 that Anne "is a princess endowed with the utmost kindness and affability" (*CSP Ven* XV: 392). She is "passionately attached" to her brother Christian IV and to her son Prince Charles. Piero Contarini added in 1618 that Anne is "a lady of great goodness and virtue" (*CSP Ven* XV: 420). But she "is unhappy because the king rarely sees her and many years have passed since he saw much of her." One notes that these seventeenth-century reports more readily square with the analysis of female historians writing in the twentieth century. The piling on of pejorative terms about Anne, so characteristic of male historians, does not exist here. Instead, the earlier male voices speak of Anne as intelligent, vivacious, full of spunk, knowledgeable about politics, a nurturing mother, and yet victim of her husband's neglect.

Poignantly, Antonio Donato reports to Venice about Anne's death on 2 March 1619:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> Freeing others from the trouble of living longer, she has released herself from the prison of a perpetual death. Her Majesty died three days ago in the palace at Hampton Court . . . without seeing the king, who was at Newmarket. She breathed her last amid a few attendants in a country place, without the help of those remedies which might have lengthened her days even if they did not cure her. (*CSPVen* XV: 494)

Her only consolation came from Prince Charles, who attended her. At the end of her days, Donato adds, "at the age of 44, she had nothing but to lament her sins and to show herself, as she was always believed to be, very religious and sincere in the worship of the true God" (495). Donato also captures Anne's status in 1619: "Her Majesty's death does not make the slightest difference in the government of these kingdoms" (495). The final indignity came from the ten-week search by James to find sufficient money for Anne's funeral, which finally took place on 13 May without James's presence.

Perhaps the time has come to release Queen Anne from the "prison of a perpetual death" of masculine bias. Ample materials exist in seventeenth-century sources to provide a fair assessment of her without resorting to the fixing of certain unfavorable terms that cannot easily be eradicated, as William Harris had noted in the eighteenth century. Patriarchal ideology seems to have taken root among historians in the nineteenth century—that is, among those writing about Anne—and it has not altogether disappeared. Surely contemporary developments in historical thinking should compel us to examine our own ideology as we seek to analyze and write about historical persons and events. A feminist perspective on Anne offers a corrective to the dominant view and opens the subject for additional investigation and analysis, along the lines of Leeds Barroll's and Barbara Lewalski's perspectives.

NOTES

1. *King James VI & I*: 95. Marina Warner in her *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* has ably demonstrated how a feminist reinterpretation of a historical figure alters the received view. She writes of her purpose: "I am trying to see how Joan fitted into an intellectual and emotional tradition of thought concerning women" (9–10). Such a perspective has largely been missing in interpretations of Queen Anne. Feminist historians have on the whole paid more attention to the way in which woman's condition

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has been socially constructed. On this point one can look at the work of Nancy F. Cott, among others, especially her book *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987). Focusing on the woman's suffrage movement in the United States, Cott (1986) skillfully shows how different historians have responded to this historical event.

2. For discussion of this matter and other pertinent to Anne, see my *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland.*

3. *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover* I:153–54. One notes with interest that Horace Walpole praised the "manly" qualities of Macaulay's history.

WORKS CITED

Akrigg, G. P. V. 1962. *Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I.* London: Hamish Hamilton.

Barroll, Leeds. 1991. "The Court of the First Stuart Queen." *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court.* Ed. Linda Levy Peck. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 191–208, 325–32.

Bergeron, David M. 1991. *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Bingham, Caroline. 1979. *James VI of Scotland.* London: Weidenfeld and Weidenfeld.

———. 1981. *James I of England.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Calendar of State Papers Venetian 1603–1607. 1900. London.

Cott, Nancy F. 1986. "Feminist Theory and Feminist Movements: The Past Before Us." *What is Feminism?* Ed. Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 49–62.

———. 1987. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism.* New Haven: Yale UP.

Davies, Godfrey. 1941. "The Character of James VI and I." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 5 (1941–42).

Fraser, Antonia. 1975. *King James VI of Scotland, I of England.* New York: Knopf.

Gardiner, Samuel. 1883–84. Reprint. New York: AMS Press, 1965. *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642.* 10 vols.

Harris, William. 1753. *An Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James the First, King of Great Britain.* London.

Lee, Maurice, Jr. 1990. *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. 1993. *Writing Women in Jacobean England.* Cambridge: Harvard UP.

Macauley [Graham], Catherine. 1766. *The History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover.* London.

McClure, Norman Egbert, ed. 1939. *The Letters of John Chamberlain.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

McElwee, William. 1958. *The Wisest Fool in Christendom: The Reign of James I and VI.* New York: Harcourt, Brace.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully. 1756. Tr. Charlotte Lennox. London.

Scott, Otto. 1976. *James I.* New York: Mason/Charter.

Strong, Roy. 1986. *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Warner, Marina. 1981. *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism.* New York: Knopf.

Williams, Charles. 1934. Reprint. London: Arthur Barker, 1951. *James I.*

Williams, Ethel Carleton. 1970. *Anne of Denmark: Wife of James VI of Scotland, James I of England.* London: Longman.

Willson, David Harris. 1956. *King James VI & I.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Wilson, Arthur. 1653. *The History of Great Britain, Being the Life and Reign of King James the First.* London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POLLY CARVER JORDAN

Biography about Children for Children

Leon Edel, in his essay "Biography and the Science of Man," tells us that a biographer fashions a man or woman out of words, just as a sculptor brings life to clay (5). This adds a challenge for the author who writes a biography for children. Young minds are absorbent, forming impressions, and even adopting for role models the characters brought to life by the biographer.

While this is a daunting challenge, it also presents an opportunity to influence a growing heart and mind; for the young reader knows that the hero whose life is presented by the biographer is not a character created from the author's imagination, but was once a real child too.

Through reading biographies children become acquainted with new friends who have known fear, pain, sorrow, bashfulness, and all the other feelings which children do not like to admit. They become aware that other children have overcome such problems and have grown up to be famous and respected individuals. From these new-found friends young readers come to have hope for themselves.

Introducing a child to a real character who lived in a totally different time and environment can also be a means of opening new interests in history, geography, sociology, and culture. Research then becomes as critical in preparing a biography for children as for adults. It must be not only extensive but also accurate, including a thorough search of places, language, ideas, people and their philosophies, and all things sublime and mundane which touch

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lives day by day. The writer must research until he or she can move comfortably into the life and environment of the subject. Only then can the writer hope to draw young readers into the pages of a book.

Perhaps I can best describe the depth of research necessary to write a biography for children by using as an example *Brigham Young, Covered Wagon Boy*, which I coauthored with Lucy Post Frisbee. In reference to the series to which our book belongs, "The Childhood of Famous Americans," Charlotte Huck and Doris A. Young, authors of *Children's Literature in the Elementary School*, commented, "This particular series of books has probably lured more children into becoming independent readers of library books than any other series" (208).

Using a large map of the United States, we traced the movement of the characters in our book from Whitingham, Vermont, across the state of New York and eventually westward, finally ending in the settling of the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

An important aspect of children's biography is a thorough search of concrete trivia. Precise details are especially important to the young and even more crucial to the reader when the subject lived in another era. Each chapter has to set the hero in the correct environment in time, location, history, family, and character development. The following are only a few of the matters which we had to research carefully. Such accumulated knowledge then provides a stage on which the characters play out the events of their lives.

Travelers who had ventured across the Hudson River and into Western New York told exciting stories of fertile land that was level and not broken up into gully farms; of hardwood trees; and best of all, of land that was cheap. This good news precipitated a move by the Young family when Brigham was a small boy.

By what means did a family move from one location to another in the early nineteenth century? Obviously by horse and wagon, but what kind of wagon? A wagon might have been just a box mounted on wheels for summer travel, or set on runners making it a large sled which could move over ice and snow in the winter. Others were more elaborate—framed across the top and covered to protect the contents. These were rightly called "covered wagons" and became widely used in this period when there was an ever increasing urge to migrate westward toward what was hoped would be a better life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Traveling was not only difficult but hazardous. Villages, when they existed at all, were long distances apart. But these were the days when strangers were made welcome and traveling families would be taken in, fed, and bedded down. People welcomed this opportunity for story swapping and forming new friendships.

Over what kind of roads did they travel? There were roads called "traces" which were in fact only traces of a road—impassable in the spring mud when roads had to be corduroyed with logs in order for the wagons to cross over the washed-out sections.

Were there turnpikes? Yes. Who owned the tollgates? How did they charge those who passed along these privately owned thoroughfares? Were there traffic jams in those days? Yes indeed, caused not only by the large number of wagons moving westward, but also by the livestock being driven along the pike. To our amusement we found that turkeys were particularly difficult to herd in an orderly fashion.

And when the settlers reached their destination, where did they live? Houses were at first simple shelters made from saplings, until the land could be cleared and the planting done. Getting food was the primary task. The house-raising could begin as soon as the logs were available. This, of course, meant cutting the trees. We had to learn how to fell a tree with an ax in such a way that it would fall with a good lay, not damaging other trees in the area.

The business of actually raising the house led us to many other interesting subjects, such as how to frame a house, how to whipsaw the ends of the logs and notch them through for a close fit, how to chink the logs once they were in place so that the house would be insulated as much as possible, how to roof the house, and how to split the shingles from oak logs cut just the right length for the shakes.

Doors were made with a slot through which a latch string could be threaded to the outside. When pulled, the string or rope would raise a bar on the inside, which allowed the door to be opened. From this arrangement came the old saying "the latch string is always out for you," meaning "you are always welcome."

Furnishings for the house were plain and meager. We found that beds were made of branches laced together and mattresses were stuffed with corn husks. Tables and stools were made from logs. If a man had the skill, he might eventually make a cupboard with drawers, but most often plain wooden shelves stood against

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the walls and were considered adequate for the few possessions which needed to be stored.

Fortunate indeed was the family when, with the help of friends and neighbors, the "house-raisin'" was completed. At this time a date stone was often carved and placed above the entrance. A typical stone might read, "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this day forward," followed by the date on which the house was completed.

What kind of food did the settlers eat? They learned to live from the land, not just from their crops, but as the Native Americans did, surviving on roots, nuts, berries, fish, and animals, which they hunted or trapped.

How was their food prepared? Inside every cabin a large hearth was built with ample room for cooking pots to hang over the open fire. Hardwood burned the hottest, and hot coals covered with ashes would stay hot and glowing for many hours, ready to be fired up when it was time to prepare another meal.

What kind of trees were used for which purposes? We learned about "sugarin'-off," and how valuable the maple tree was to the settlers. We found that warm days and cold nights made for good sugaring weather: "When the crows come back from the lowlands, and the snow begins to melt from the bottom of the tree—that's sugarin' time." We learned how to tap a tree, make a spout out of sumac, and punch out the pith. We learned how the buckets of maple sap were balanced on each end of a pole and carried to the fire, which burned twenty four hours a day, keeping the sap boiling until it assumed the delicious consistency of syrup. The great pot was stirred continuously in relays by father and children. We could almost hear the liquid sizzle when it touched the chunk of bear fat hung above the pot to prevent its boiling over. But what we enjoyed most was watching in our minds' eyes the excitement of tossing a ladle of thickening syrup on a strip of clean frozen snow where it would freeze immediately and become a delicious treat for the tired workers.

What illnesses did the settlers suffer, and how were they treated for health problems? What medicines, if any, were available? What herbs did they use for healing and other purposes? If one carried a sprig of aromatic fennel in a pocket, it could come in handy for keeping a snoozing husband or drowsy child awake in church!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What were the common sayings of the time? What grammar might the hero and other individuals have used? The words, phrases, and grammar must not only accurately reflect the period and locale, but also the probable education of the various characters.

What Native American peoples would travelers possibly meet, and would they be friendly or hostile? How dangerous were the animals that lived in the wilderness? How did the pioneers set deadfall traps for otter, fox, and bear, and snares for smaller game? How did they skin the catch without damaging the pelt or cutting the scent glands?

At what age would a young boy be allowed to shoot a musket? Having his own gun or being allowed to use his father's weapon was a young man's rite of passage to manhood. Hunting was not primarily a sport on the frontier in those early days. A man's musket was often the source of food for his family as well as protection from the dangers that were a part of the settlers' lives.

Of necessity, a loaded musket was kept within easy reach of those who had been properly schooled in the use of the weapon. This training included not only strict rules of safety, but also the importance of properly cleaning and caring for this highly valued instrument. Every young man learned early how to use a ramrod to push and pull a clean strip of cloth back and forth through the barrel of the gun to keep it clear of rust and powder burns, and how a cloth dipped in bear grease gave the barrel a final coat of extra protection.

From relatively simple but important matters of environment, the biographer has to move into more profound social and cultural conditions of the subject. Who was the president? Was the country at war during the childhood of our hero? Would the family be in favor of or against the war, and how would it affect the lives of the entire family?

How did the new settlers get their news? This question led us to learning about stagecoach drivers, peddlers (who advertised "needles, pins, and news"), and drovers who herded livestock from farm to city. All of these were fonts of local information that was readily dispersed from village to village and county to county.

What entertainment did the settlers enjoy when their long hours of work were ended? Roasting chestnuts in the hot ashes of a bedded-down fire while in turn reading aloud to each other was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a common family activity. What books were available to them? Certainly the Holy Bible and perhaps the writings of Benjamin Franklin or Thomas Jefferson, if one of the parents had been educated, as Brigham's mother had been. Then, of course, there were "house-raisin'" and "sugarin'-off" parties and camp meetings to which the community eagerly looked forward.

What games did young children play at this time in our history? Although frontier children were expected at an early age to share the heavy workload of the family, there was time to play. Young boys would have rolled the hoops taken from old discarded barrels or made a contest of spinning wooden tops carved for them by a father or older brother. Hand-stitched rag dolls were treasured toys for little girls and often passed from generation to generation.

Where did they go to school? Educating their children was very important to the early settlers. When areas were sufficiently settled to justify a community school, a one-room building would be constructed and an effort made to bring a trained teacher from the East to teach the children, who regardless of age, size, or prior schooling would all be taught in the same classroom. The schoolmaster was master indeed, and discipline with a ruler or cat-o'-nine tails was swift and generally unquestioned.

For the children who lived on the edge of the wilderness, there was not the luxury of desk or schoolroom. When chores were finished, the children would bring their slates to the family table. Here they would be taught to read, write, do sums, and compete in family spelling bees, most often under the tutelage of their mother.

It would be difficult to choose the most interesting topics our research uncovered, but surely Camp Meetings would be high on the list. This period in America was known as the Second Great Awakening. Roaring revivals stirred the masses and huge camp meetings were held all over the Frontier West. These almost incredible meetings catered both to the settlers' desires for company and their need for emotional expression and spiritual uplift in their sometimes drab and difficult lives.

Preparations for these meetings varied with the number of preachers involved. If a lone itinerant minister passed through an area and wanted to deliver his message, word would be spread to close neighboring settlers who would gather together to hear his words. Now and then a more extensive revival would be planned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For this great occurrence a huge shed was built to protect as many as five thousand people from wind and rain. A stage was constructed where the preachers could act out their parts. People would gather from as many as fifty miles away—in wagons, on horseback, and on foot—prepared to camp out for several days to listen to ten, twenty, sometimes thirty ministers of different denominations, who would preach for as many as four or five days—virtually day and night—taking turns in delivering their forceful and dramatic messages.

Research involved not only matters which affected the subject's life, but also other people who lived in this real environment and whose association with our hero would have been important to his development. Who were his parents? What kind of people were they—harsh, fair, educated, skilled? Was our subject a part of a large family? Were his siblings male, female, or both? Where did he fit in the family? All of this information was important, for it would have a great bearing on the personality and development of the child.

It is important in the research of all biography not to overlook the possibility of personal contacts and interviews with those directly or indirectly connected with the subject. It was my good fortune to have the close help of S. Dilworth Young, who was writing *Young Brigham Young*, a book about his famous ancestor, at the same time research for our book was in progress. This gracious man not only opened his files of research to me, but related a stream of family history and anecdotes passed down through the generations. We, of course, did not use the information which was to be forthcoming in his book, to be published in that same year, but just gleaning from his breadth of knowledge of his grandfather and the times in which he lived gave us not only legitimate association with our subject, but also a deeper understanding of the adventures and challenges of frontier life, which we could then strive to pass on to our readers.

When all of the research has been accomplished, then begins the task of weeding out all that cannot be used—that which, however fascinating, is not needed to move the story along—for by this time the tendency is to become infatuated with all of the interesting information which has been gleaned. Even if an author lacks the courage to cut deeply enough, an editor certainly will not hesitate to wield the knife in order that the finished prod-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

uct will fit the publisher's prescribed length and format for a particular book or series. This is the time for drawing characters into real people and weaving incidents into adventures.

In *The Writing of Biography*, Catherine Drinker Bowen notes that the difference between the novelist and biographer is profound. One invents situations that will arouse a reader's emotions, the other draws upon historical events (3). In writing about children, for children, one must use both of these techniques. Biographers must take the character traits known to have existed in their subjects' adult lives and either expand on experiences known to have occurred in their childhood or invent situations or experiences in which their heroes might have begun, in childhood, to develop such character traits. What lessons might the subject have learned which carried over into adult life and helped to form his or her character?

Actually by the time the process of research has been set aside and the writing begins, the author will have become so well acquainted with the subject and the subject's lifestyle, family, language, and philosophy of life, that there is no dearth of ideas for inventing or expanding a situation to develop a point. That this approach has been successful is proven by the popularity of "The Childhood of Famous Americans" series, currently published by Aladdin Books, an imprint of Macmillan.

When writing for children, the key word is *action*. Action arouses excitement in young readers. When someone asked Charles Dickens about his rules of composition—the artistic principles by which he proceeded—Dickens answered, "I have only one artistic principle. That is to arouse the emotions of my readers" (quoted in Bowen 3). I believe that all writers of juvenile fiction or biography would agree that one must catch the interest of young readers from the first page, involving them in adventures so exciting that they can move into the story and see themselves as participants in the action. Even if they have never personally felt really hungry or cold, grief-stricken or gripped with fear, or just bone-weary tired, they can feel it with the hero.

The vehicles for conveying emotion-arousing action are *words*. "Words have power!" Janet and Isaac Asimov proclaim. "Language is the most powerful tool ever invented anywhere by anyone" (5).

By using word lists (available for all ages and reading abilities) but not being constrained by them, the author is free, now and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

then, to add a real "sparkler" which stretches the readers' minds and frees their imaginations, as it quietly enlarges their vocabulary. The freedom to stretch children's minds with new vocabulary brings with it the advantage of using words which add colorful nuance to an otherwise black and white picture. Rumer Godden makes the point that words not only have meanings, but shades of meanings. She reinforces her view in "Words Make the Book" with the following anecdote:

> A friend of mine was acting librarian when one day into the library came a small girl wearing a new and far too large hat. She had lacquered it with shiny black dye so that it smelled like stove pipe varnish and it was topped by an enormous rose. She was obviously so proud of it that my friend said, "What a wonderful hat!" The child beamed and replied, "Yes, and it reflects the rays of the sun with more than oriental splendor." (36)

Every author who picks up a pen or sits at the computer for the purpose of creating juvenile literature should do so with the goal of contributing something of lasting value to the lives of children. One of the ways this can be accomplished is through biographies—bringing to life great men and women who have set the right example for the coming generation of leaders. When Janet and Isaac Asimov say "Children like to read about success" (5), that observation bolsters my belief that good biographies are good reading for children, assuring them that they, too, can reach for the stars.

The artist-author Howard Pyle once wrote:

> My ambition in days gone by was to write a notable adult book, but now I am glad that I have made literary friends of the children rather than the older folk. In one's mature years one forgets the books that one reads, but the stories of childhood leave an indelible impression, and their author always has a niche in the temple of memory from which the image is never cast out to be thrown into the rubbish heap of things that are outgrown or outlived. (quoted in Commager xv)

Despite Pyle's important point and the fact that biographies for children can be a particularly memorable part of the genre of children's literature, there are far too few biographies compared to the overall number of books published for juvenile readers.

Finally, it is important to know that children are not, as medieval painters limned them, just shrunken adults. There is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

delightful difference. Children are filled with boundless energy and unlimited imagination. They are trusting. The world has not yet made them callous and suspicious—they will generally believe what they read. They speak a language all their own, reveling in the repetition of words and phrases, rhymes and jingles. A writer must be able to find excitement in the things which excite, to feel with them their disappointments, hurts, and fears. Only then can one hope to bring characters, real or imagined, to life.

To accomplish all of this is a challenge worthy of serious biographical effort.

WORKS CITED

Asimov, Janet and Isaac Asimov. *How To Enjoy Writing: A Book of Aid and Comfort.* New York: Walker, 1987.

Bowen, Catherine Drinker. *The Writing of Biography.* Boston: The Writer, 1951.

Commager, Henry Steele. "Introduction." *A Critical History of Children's Literature.* Ed. Cornelia Meigs. New York: Macmillan, 1953.

Edel, Leon. "Biography and the Science of Man." *New Directions in Biography.* Ed. Anthony M. Friedson. A Biography Monograph. Honolulu: Biographical Research Center, 1981. 1–11.

Godden, Rumer. "Words Make the Book." *Ladies Home Journal* 81, 36 (Jan.–Feb. 1964).

Huck, Charlotte S. and Doris A. Young. *Children's Literature in the Elementary School.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

Jordan, Polly Carver and Lucy Post Frisbee. *Brigham Young: Covered Wagon Boy.* Childhood of Famous American Series. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1962.

Young, S. Dilworth. *Young Brigham Young.* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MARGOT STRICKLAND

Ghosting an Autobiography

What's in a name? Everything where biography is concerned; no name is so sweet to an ambitious publisher as a big name, especially during a long recession. What the big name is famous for is largely irrelevant. Any well-known name is a trigger for sales.

Journalism and the media make names famous. It is generally believed that editors of the great newspapers get together and decide who they will make famous. Without them no talent can succeed. Publicity is such a vital element in a performer's career, either in person, on the page, or the canvas, and it must continually be sustained. The elderly author of many highly esteemed books once remarked wearily: "I can never be dropped because I have never been taken up!" There are many such disregarded performers, for unless an author is frequently featured in the media he or she is not considered of any account. Publicity feeds upon itself, like some self-destructive monstrous parasite, until the performer is engulfed and consumed by his own celebrity.

With regard to a biographer's career, to 'ghost' an autobiography will scarcely enhance his reputation, since it is unlikely to bear his name. If he is lucky and determined not to be pushed aside, he may figure on the title page, and indeed must if he is to qualify for his share of Public Lending Right monies, and to know of the number of times his work is borrowed from the public libraries, good for his morale. Probably his name will be printed beneath the big name in smaller type, and omitted from the dust-wrapper: it is the big name that is selling the book. Con-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sequently any self-respecting author would prefer to write a biography for which he is properly credited, with his name on the wrapper, mentioned in the book lists, catalogues, and reviews, all of which record the work he has done and help his career. Market forces, however, militate against this.

When I was approached to write a biography of a living subject, a 'ghosted' autobiography was proposed instead, as being more profitable to the publisher. Reluctantly I agreed to write a sample chapter. If unsatisfactory to subject and publisher, an 'authorized' biography, which must meet the subject's approval, would be considered. However, the 'ghosted' chapter found favor and a 50/50 contract was negotiated. With no advance for work or expenses, the project was begun.

Biographical writing calls for a certain detachment allied to subjectivity. The writer is outside the subject, amassing material, employing an analytical sifting of detail for a period of about two years before putting pen to paper. Ultimately, the material is shaped into chapters and presented as fairly as possible: the biographer makes a case for the subject, he is the advocate, and the reader in due course makes up his mind, and sums up the subject's interest and value to posterity. It is interpretative work and the result is a portrait dependent on and defined by the available material collected, collated, and crafted.

In the case of a public figure who as a performer has provided good copy for the press for over sixty years, to disentangle the truth from superficial publicity, to reach the real person, is not easy. The author of a book aims to probe deeper into the persona and background, and to write a 'real' book rather than a regurgitated patchwork of interviews and recollections, however skilfully stitched together. Despite substantial archives, in my case, however, only a small selection of papers, chosen by the subject, was made available to me.

In 'ghosting' an autobiographical memoir of a living person the writer is at the mercy of a volatile subject who may or may not capriciously cooperate. The subject has little knowledge or even interest, let alone sympathy, with the writer's craft, method, and difficulties, and believes, as so many people do, that professional writing is as easily accomplished as writing letters to the newspapers or the bank. The creative process, the conception and gestation of a full-length book, is a conundrum not to be penetrated or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

considered, but taken for granted, as something to be contracted for in order to gain a printed volume which will bear the subject's name, carry it to immortality, and garner publicity and profit for the publisher in a highly competitive market.

In this case the writer must identify with the subject, so immerse himself in the life of a complex individual, his character, personality, family, friends, associates, and geography, that he *becomes* the person, lives the role, sees with his eyes, reasons with his mind, feels with his hands and his heart. It requires an imaginative plunge into the depths of a human soul, so deep as to threaten the 'ghost' with extinction. And the subject, being famous, is likely to be a personality so powerful that he or she can exercise a will that imperils the author's integrity, to exclude material damaging to him, or include trivial episodes which vainglorify him. The resulting work is the amalgam of the subject's ego with the writer's honesty, sensitivity, and artistry as the interpretative medium. Since the living subject has the right of veto to the moment of publication, should he disapprove of the finished book, there is no guarantee the work will be published and read. The writer is inevitably fettered, not to the truth as he sees it, but to an economy with the truth, to satisfy the big name and his view of himself.

Moura: Her Autobiography by Moura Lympany and Margot Strickland, published by Peter Owen Ltd., was launched at a Foyle's Literary Luncheon at the Grosvenor House Hotel, Park Lane, London. These long-established and deservedly popular literary gatherings are of great service to authors and literature. A 'top-table' of celebrities—chairman, speaker, and voter-of-thanks—ceremonially entertains an assembly of eager-eyed lion-hunters, all of whom have enjoyed an excellent meal in luxurious surroundings. This dazzling essay in marketing was followed by saturation publicity: an expensive aristocratic PR man had been paid by the subject to woo the media. There were signing sessions at Harrods, and innumerable radio, television, and press interviews. This orgy of 'hype' elevated the euphoric big name to the dizzy heights of spurious authorship. Only in one short paragraph under the heading "Hardbacks in brief" in *The Observer* was the real author's name mentioned. Omitted from the publisher's catalogue, it was likewise absent from booklists, library microfiche lists, and talking books. The author, prostrate

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with nervous exhaustion, was striving to recuperate from the intensity of the labor of bringing to birth the portrait of a living subject. The experience of 'ghosting' an autobiography had reduced the writer to a specter indeed, for nobody knew she had done the work.

The year following publication Moura Lympany C. B. E. was appointed a Dame of the British Empire.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviews

The following is a reprint of a review first published in *Biography* 17, no. 3 (Summer 1994). Because of a printing error, portions of the earlier publication in some copies were unreadable. Thus we are reprinting the review here in its entirety.

HELEN M. BUSS, *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. x + 237 pp. $39.95.

Beginning her analysis here, Buss rejects the mirror metaphor so often used to define the function of texts; because of its ubiquity, she says, she must deal with its limitations, "since as a metaphor not only is it used by Lacan and poststructuralists, but it is an embedded humanistic metaphor as well, the only difference being that the humanists see the mirror as capable of revealing truth, while poststructuralists, realizing the slipperiness of linguistic mirrors, expose its falsity" (8). For purposes of her own analysis, rather, Buss prefers mapping as metaphor, the advantages of which she explains as follows: "A mapping of autobiography recognizes both the palimpsest of layers in human subjects and the erosion of those layers; it recognizes that the contours of the world, the language people use to shape the self, to communicate the self, the ways that language assigns meaning, creates symbols, have not always been the same. Indeed, mapping itself and its technologies change constantly, shifting and readjusting our concepts of the self and the world" (10–11). Later on, in the midst of her argument, Buss makes another assertion which is especially germane: "Each of us must begin with the archaeology of our own lives, our parents' lives, and those of our forebears in the places they made their homes, the places that have become our homes. This mapping will give each of us our voice, but only when it is gathered in the palimpsest of other mappings, other voices" (150).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Each of these quotations represents, I think, one of three central elements vitalizing this excellent book: critical theory, autobiographical theory (both generically and with regard to women's autobiography), and the critic's personal relation to the texts she selects for examination. I offer no illustrative quotation for the fourth central concern—autobiographical texts by Canadian women writing in English—but it, obviously, is key to the book's design. Each plays its role in the argument. Buss actively critiques poststructural and feminist theory, demonstrating both its relevance and limitations as it furthers her project and, equally, as it hinders it. Moreover, Buss places her work squarely within the discourses surrounding autobiographical texts from George Gusdorf and Philippe LeJeune on, paying special attention to those critics who have dealt most extensively with autobiographies by women, especially Patricia Meyer Spacks, Sidonie Smith, and Patricia Yaeger. Finally, Buss practices the autobiography she analyzes: throughout *Mapping Our Selves*, a reader is never far from Buss herself, and so from her own personal experience; particularly (and most effectively), this aspect of the book is evident in the sections that introduce each of the three parts of the volume—"One: Reading for an Alternative Tradition," "Two: On Becoming a Twentieth-Century Woman," "Three: Finding a Counter-Discourse."

As this description of method suggests, Buss shows herself a scholar and a person possessed of a generous and far-reaching intellect. Troubled throughout by the implications of her own analysis, pushing always to delve further, demanding understanding from the numerous juxtapositions she posits, Buss is never satisfied—her own presence in the text is salutary, as this quotation from the third introductory section illustrates: "I have come to believe that it is not myself as woman that is lacking, but language as it works through me, constructs me. What I lack is a fully embodied female tradition in language, a language that would rescue the vivid imaginations of those women at my mother's tea table, without censoring them, a language that put all that I have learned about language as symbol, language as sign, in the service of my experience of life in this female body" (184).

I have not yet said anything about Buss's subject as described in her subtitle—*Canadian Women's Autobiography in English.* That is by design. This is an important book, and as I have tried to suggest above, its significance lies more in its analysis of the nature and workings of autobiography than it does with the nationality of those women who wrote the texts Buss examines. Readers unfamiliar with Canadian writing in English need not be deterred: by way of her very method—mapping and "contextualizing"—Buss accomplishes both theoretical and analytical synthesis, her work explains itself, makes its arguments, and places its texts in ways precise, complex, and discernible. As she writes at one point, "the cultural situation must be constantly referenced: the actual experience of real people at any given moment in history, and the generic modes available to them for self-expression" must be brought to bear in any reading (210, n. 13). For Buss, autobiographies by Canadian women are the sites of necessary analysis.

As the first extended analysis of autobiographies in English by Canadian women, *Mapping Our Selves* further establishes Buss's leading presence among a group of Canadian critics—Misao Dean, Bina Freiwald, Susan Jackel, Marlene Kadar, and Shirley Neuman, among others—who have been engaged in lively

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

discourse on the subject. This criticism, moreover, is unique by the virtual absence of the sort of nationalistic tub-thumping that has characterized much critical writing on Canadian fiction and poetry. Like Buss, these critics have cast their nets widely, both in the theory they have drawn from and the models they have used. Yet because there is not—and given the present climate, probably will not be—any well-defined English-Canadian literary canon to work against, these critics of Canadian women's autobiography are adding another, and arguably quite important, group of texts to Canadian literature, however that is defined. So despite Buss's rejection of any notion of a "tradition" evident in Canadian women's autobiography (201), she implies one nevertheless in her chronological treatment as she moves from nineteenth-century pioneer women's diaries and journals through travelers' accounts into the twentieth century, and so to autobiographies by literary women and then to the most recent, postmodern accounts.

Yet whether tradition or merely a chronological arrangement of texts by women who shared the same country (and language), the texts Buss examines here are illuminated, sensitively and carefully, by her analysis—and that illumination has to do, invariably, with the various ways—individual as well generalized—a person's autobiography reflects her own situation and that of women at the time of composition. Some of the authors are well-established literary figures—Anna Jameson, Susanna Moodie, Lucy Maud Montgomery, Nellie McLung, Emily Carr, Margaret Laurence, Gabrielle Roy, Maria Campbell—while others are hardly known, if at all—Elizabeth Simcoe, Elizabeth Johnston, Monica Hopkins, Susan Allison, Marge B. Clement. Irrespective of status, however, each person's narrative is treated with care, and authoritatively.

As is inevitable, there are points on which *Mapping Our Selves* falters; while they do not disrupt the book's importance, I do not think they are minor. Buss is intent on her own reading of autobiographical texts (and she *is* intent, despite the openness she normally maintains; there are moments of certainty here bordering on righteousness). Even so, one wonders about the numerous relevant critical discourses in which Buss participates as far as her argument requires but largely avoids beyond that. Writing by Moodie, Carr, Montgomery, Laurence, and Roy—to name only the most prominent—each has a considerable body of criticism surrounding it; some of it is directly relevant here, specifically as well as contextually. Yet apart from theory—with which she shows breadth and depth of familiarity—Buss cites very little secondary material here beyond primary texts. This absence suggests another: while Buss's analyses of well-known texts—again, for example, Moodie, Carr, Laurence, and Roy—are compelling and convincing, one wishes that they were more sustained and directed (in passing, too, Buss's rationale for text selection is not always clear).

Lastly—and most problematically for Buss and every other critic of autobiography, per se, I readily concede—the issue of genre is not adequately dealt with here. Beginning her analysis, Buss cites Evelyn J. Hinz on the "hegemony" of the novel as genre while preferring, she says, "to leave the question of genre as open as possible because of the transgressive nature of women's approaches to genre decisions and in order to preclude too swift a closure in a territory where mapping has only recently begun" (18). Fine. But toward the end of the book, Buss argues away Kristjana Gunnars' designation of her own book as a novel; *The Prowler*, we are told, is a text "that calls itself a novel" (the text "calls itself"?).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gunnars, Buss suggests, "may feel it necessary to name her personal memoir of a twentieth-century citizen's life a 'novel,' to protect it and herself from all the baggage the word 'autobiography' carries in traditional definitions." As Buss asserts elsewhere on the same page, "one of the reasons given in the past for women's exclusion from mainstream generic contracts has been that they write too autobiographically" (197).

The point, I think, is found in a question Buss asks when she introduces her third part—"Finding a Counter-Discourse"—"How does a writer tell the whole truth?" (183); then, by way of autobiographical illustration, she goes on to focus on a point of "disremembering"—that is, attributing a memory mentioned earlier to her mother, not her grandmother, as she had said before. Indeed. The absence of generic definition in *Mapping Our Selves* is troubling—however preferable openness may be—exactly because it is impossible for any writer to "tell the whole truth." And the putative dividing lines between autobiography, fiction, and biography—lurking throughout Buss's analysis—need to be dealt with. In contrast, and as I have argued elsewhere, some of Alice Munro's fictions are as autobiographical as autobiographies—including those examined here—are fictional. Timothy Dow Adams speaks of "telling lies" in autobiography (Buss 20); Munro once proposed *True Lies* as a title for a work of "fiction." Genre matters, however difficult its distinctions, and it deserves more attention here than it gets.

What I hope these last few paragraphs suggest about *Mapping Our Selves* is that it both excites in its wide-ranging and precisely thoughtful analysis and, probably far more importantly, it demands both response and debate. What Buss has to say about autobiography, autobiographical texts by women, theoretical contexts, individual cruxes, and just the ways women's writing works is both demanding and compelling. This is a book which should be read by anyone interested in autobiography and, despite its gaps, the autobiographical in fiction. By mapping the self—and mapping herself—Helen M. Buss makes an important contribution to the analysis of autobiography and to Canadian literary studies.

ROBERT THACKER
St. Lawrence University

SIDONIE SMITH AND JULIA WATSON, editors, *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992. xxxi + 484 pp. $19.95.

This collection of twenty essays takes as its focal point issues of subjectivity and othering in women's autobiographies that have emerged within the framework of colonialism and the process of decolonization. While the contributors acknowledge the material repercussions of anti-imperialist movements throughout the globe that have undone centuries-old schemes of economic and cultural domination, they concentrate specifically on offering a critical assessment of representational strategies that have emerged in this period to challenge the established hegemony of colonial discursive practices in prescribing subjective agency.

It is unanimously agreed by the essayists that traditional autobiography, as a tool for self representation within the postcolonial and postmodern world, is problematic and lacking in its ability to serve the discursive needs of new subjec-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tivities. Gender, class, racial and ethnic identifying features of alterity, that heretofore have prevented the subaltern from engaging completely in the post-Enlightenment autobiographical contract, are now posited within the collection as indispensable considerations for postcolonial self-invention, and, as such, form the groundstone for the theoretical discussions of these essays. Indeed, the subtitle of the collection, *The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography,* is perhaps a misnomer in that gender is highlighted only as distinguishing this collection's focus on women's self writing as opposed to men's, but gender by no means is the privileged characteristic of critical analysis. Instead the collection, as a whole, offers multiple perspectives on the intersection and relationship of gender, class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality, and the manner in which the confluence of these factors condition women's autobiographical practices.

The essays included here are posited within a global context that reaches "from North to South, from America to Africa to Australia" (xxi). Although the topics are diverse, ranging from a catalog of Australian Aboriginal women's lifestory productions to the consideration of Chicano cookbooks as an autobiographical and cultural affirmation, there is evident a disposition towards certain theoretical concerns in the collection that give it coherency. The unrelenting examination of the critical and geopolitical distance between colonial and de/colonized voices in the construction of autobiography, and the insistent questioning of genre boundaries that define and limit autobiography drive the discussions throughout all five of the collection's thematic sections, regardless of their grounding on personal experience, textual analysis, or theoretical arguments. These two principal considerations are in constant dialogue throughout the text, and especially come to the foreground in the reflections on the process of introducing nontraditional autobiography, such as oral history, into the public sphere and the concomitant practice of transcultural collaboration.

Caren Kaplan's article "Resisting Autobiography: Out-law Genres and Transnational Feminist Subjects" poses the question of critical distance, and offers the most extensive discussion in the collection of the types of literary production that are currently challenging the autobiographical tradition. In her essay Kaplan examines testimonial literature, ethnographic writing, biomythography, cultural anthropology, and regulative psychobiography, or out-law genres as she calls them, by framing them within a "discourse of situation" in order to plot new positionings for author, critic, and authority. For Kaplan the distance between First World reading and Third World production is not unbreachable and can be diminished through a feminist politics that would transform "cultural production from individualized and aestheticized procedures to collaborative, historicized, transnational coalitions" (135). From her study of marginalized self-representational writings, she concludes that "the critical practice of out-law genres challenges the hierarchical structures of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonial discourse . . . and reading the challenges to the conventions of autobiography in an oppositional mode moves Western feminist criticism into transnational coalition work" (135).

John Beverley seems to agree with Kaplan about the potentiality of collaborative and nonhierarchical transnational practices which he has found in the production of testimonial narratives or *testimonio,* as it is called in Latin America. In his oft-printed history and analysis of the rise of *testimonio,* "The Margin at the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Center: on *Testimonio*," Beverley defends cross-cultural/social cooperation as being both historically bound to movements of national liberation and necessary for the advocating of social change. Beverley believes that the "relation of narrator and compiler in the production of a *testimonio* can function as an ideological figure or *ideologeme* for the possibility of union of a radicalized intelligentsia and the poor and working classes of a country. . . . It suggests as an appropriate ethical and political response more the possibility of solidarity than of charity" (98–99).

While Kaplan and Beverley highlight the possibilities of coalitions between the First and Third Worlds, several of the essays would contest the ease or feasibility of such transcultural collaboration. Carole Boyce Davis in "Collaboration and the Ordering Imperative in Life Story Production" outlines the dynamics involved between narrator and compiler in the vesting of authorial control, and indicts patriarchal underpinnings of editorial ordering practices that subvert authority in written versions of oral lifestories. The colonizing propensities of the editor are also scrutinized by Claudine Raynaud in "Rubbing a Paragraph with a Soft Cloth? Muted Voices and Editorial Constraints in *Dust Tracks on a Road*," her examination of the handwritten and typed manuscripts and the printed version of African American anthropologist Zora Neale Hurston's autobiography. Although it would be tempting to attribute editorial misreadings and transformations of Hurston's autobiography to the discriminatory practices of a segregated United States in the early 1940s, Janet Varner Gunn, "A Politics of Experience: Leila Khaled's *My People Shall Live: The Autobiography of a Revolutionary*" and Greg Sarris, "'What I'm Talking about When I'm Talking about my Baskets:' Conversations with Mabel McKay," remind us of the fact that negotiating discursive and cultural distance still remains problematic. From a politics of experience Varner Gunn uses Annie Dillard's *An American Childhood* as a springboard to recount her necessary geographical and critical repositioning from Anglo-American academician to volunteer in a human rights organization in Jerusalem in order to "understand," as she puts it, Palestinian revolutionary Leila Khaled's autobiography. Sarris coincides with Varner Gunn's supposition that regardless of our desire to approach and collaborate with the other, we have been endowed with a cultural-specific system of critical reasoning that threatens both appropriation and commodification of the subaltern's voice. In his personal account of his experiences with Native American Mabel McKay, Sarris demonstrates how disruptions in meaning occur at the juncture of differing cultures and criticisms. Sarris's experiences exemplify that such disruptions, if they do not elicit a questioning of the diverse interpretive strategies that cause them, render the reading of other subjectivities impossible at most and difficult at best.

Difficulties notwithstanding, the essays illustrate, be it from an experiential standpoint or a theoretical one, the necessity of transcultural coalition between readers/writers, narrators/editors, and theory/practice. Several of the essays seek specific intersecting points of thought and practice on which to ground such collaborative projects. Julia Watson, in "Unspeakable Differences: The Politics of Gender in Lesbian and Heterosexual Women's Autobiographies," argues that such a commonality can be found through an exploration of the sexual politics at play in self-representation. According to Watson, "[i]n autobiography, reexamining one's sexual positioning is an aspect of reframing the history of one's sub-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

jectivity through a critical examination that intends to enable connectedness with other women as potential new subjects whose identity would have collective force" (164). Watson's discussion of the autobiographical works of Adrienne Rich, Audre Lorde, and Mary Morris is a valuable tool for viewing sexual politics played out on a stage filled with other social, ethnic, and cultural roles that determine women's concept of identity. Its emphasis on the multiple differences among women offers a strong critique of any simplistic vision of women's concept of self based solely on a sexual paradigm.

As Watson's essay exemplifies, the importance of the politics of gender in women's autobiographies is most generally addressed in this collection in relationship to other identifying constraints such as race, ethnicity, or class. The three essays in the fifth section of the collection reiterate this notion, proving that it would be naive to assume that women's subversion of gender-based colonial practices would serve as an egalitarian process of liberation across class and racial boundaries. Although Nancy L. Paxton, in her analysis of three English women's autobiographies in colonial India, bases her study of the power relationships inherent in British colonial discourse in India on the self-representation of the physical body and the othering properties of feminine gender, she nonetheless concludes that such an analysis can only offer a partial vision of colonial subjectivity. "[R]ereading the literature not only of colonizing women but also of Indian writers of both sexes" (406) is necessary as "[a] more complete analysis of texts written by those colonized by race as well as by gender will shed necessary light on the colonial stage on which the uncertainties of the self are revealed" (407). The inclusion of two essays on postcolonial Indian women's autobiography, Gita Rajan's "Subversive-Subaltern Identity: Indira Gandhi as the Speaking Subject" and Shirley Geok-lin Lim's "Terms of Empowerment in Kamala Das's *My Story*," does much to extend this dialogue on the colonial self and the process of decolonization in India that Paxton initiates.

On the colonial stage of Africa Sidonie Smith also finds that the colonizing woman's self-representation can only partially reflect or challenge the multiple constraints of imperialistic power structures. In colonial discourse gender is but one of many variables that serve to determine access to subjective agency. In her comparison of Beryl Markham's and Isak Dinesen's autobiographies about their life in Africa, she discovers that while gender solidarity allowed for some incursion across class and racial boundaries, on the whole the construction of subjectivity remained problematic with respect to class and race: "the autobiographical gesture of resisting sisterhood with the other woman (Markham) or embracing sisterhood (Dinesen) cannot be read simply or dichotomously, because for white women sojourn in the colonial territory both stimulates and confounds identification, crystallizes and obscures differences, subverts and conserves prevailing ideologies" (431).

The persevering strength of patriarchal ideology concerning gender, desire, and sexuality is again confronted in Suzanne Chester's essay, "Writing the Subject: Exoticism/Eroticism in Marguerite Duras's *The Lover* and *The Sea Wall*." Although Duras subverts the traditional autobiographical positioning of the subject in order to gain her own subjective authority in *The Lover*, she reappropriates patriarchal schemes of discursive and sexual domination by inverting the scheme and exoticizing her Chinese lover in a discourse of "Orientalism." Chester's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

study reinforces the idea that subverting a specific colonial oppression does not subsequently dismantle other equally insidious and restrictive limitations.

The twenty essays of the collection effectively illustrate the many colonizations imposed upon subaltern subjectivity and the discursive pitfalls lying in wait along the path of decolonization. By juxtaposing experience of personal cultural intervention with theoretical discussions and textual criticism, the editors have given the collection a broad and more complete framework from which to review the debates about autobiographical production. The essays, on the whole, are both instructional and informative, offering historical background on a variety of autobiographical projects and providing a forum for examining contemporary theory and practice. In this regard, it should be noted that the exclusion of Chicana autobiography and criticism was purposeful and projects this collection to be read as a complement, rather than addendum, to the important work in this area by authors such as Cherríe Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Sonia Saldívar, among others. As this collection enters into dialogue with such preexisting criticism and joins the global discussion of women's autobiography, its breadth of scope and its variety of perspectives should make it of value to the theorist, of service to the pedagogue, and of interest to the informed lay reader.

JOY LOGAN
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

CARL ROLLYSON, *Biography: An Annotated Bibliography.* Magill Bibliographies. Pasadena: Salem, 1992. 215 pp. $40.

Annotated bibliographies are tedious reading, but they serve a useful purpose. In this case, Carl Rollyson, an art professor and the biographer of Martha Gellhorn, does not set out to examine all biographies or even selected biographies, but rather "to organize and annotate the literature on biography" (1). Claiming that "[m]ost of the criticism is about literary biography. Historians and scholars in other disciplines [with some exceptions among feminist and psychobiographers] have been virtually silent on biography as a form of knowledge" (7), his focus—quite logically if one accepts his premise—is on literary biography. Taken together, his eight chapters, although purporting to look at different points of view about the genre, essentially remind us that the more things change, the more they remain the same. Perhaps this is the nature of annotation: in order to compress each item into an entry of between 75 and 125 words, much of what distinguishes one argument from another is lost.

As all good introductions should, Rollyson's tells us what to expect in the chapters to come and explains why he organized the book as he did. The following chapters stand strangely naked, with only titles to remind us of the focus. To understand the author's categorical decisions, the reader must return again and again to the opening pages, since his choices are not obviously justified. For example, in Chapter One, he comments on books and journal articles that discuss biography and biographical theory from the perspective of modern biographers themselves. In Chapter Two he reviews some of the literature that has examined "historical and critical studies of biography" (2). Aside from its attention to some of the biographical classics throughout history (particularly Samuel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Johnson, James Boswell, and Lytton Strachey), it is difficult to see the difference between these two chapters. Although they talk about different biographies, each reiterates the same arguments about the nature of biography itself, as in fact do most of the chapters that follow. Is it possible to really "know" another life? Is the "external" approach better than seeking to understand the subject's "inwardness" (58)? Should biographers interject themselves into the text? Should a biography consist of endless detail or should it instead seek the telling characteristic, the representative event? The writings Rollyson discusses reflect the various possible opinions on these questions, but the annotations seldom evaluate the weight of the arguments, leaving the reader aware of the work but not its value.

Chapter Three examines some of the "enormous literature on Johnson and Boswell" (2), arguing that Johnson, as the master of the short biographical essay, and Boswell, as "the virtuoso of the long form" (3), are compelling subjects, both of whom wrote and inspired a great deal of biographical theory and criticism. Although this is unquestionably true, and Rollyson finds much of this output "fresh" (2), it is also true that in this chapter as well as those which go before and after, only a few critical points of view emerge. There are those who argue that "fact gathering" (as Boswell did) is the essence of biography, while others find "fact shaping" (Johnson's mode) the significant task (129). Then there are those who find Boswell's fact gathering really to be a form of fact shaping and Johnson's fact shaping a reflection of his own self-image. And so it goes.

Chapter Four looks at some of Leon Edel's writings as a case study of a modern biographer who, Rollyson argues, is comparable to Johnson and Boswell. With Edel's biography of Henry James in all its many forms as the primary focus, Rollyson divides the chapter into an examination of Edel on Edel, and others on Edel. As before, the same questions and criticisms show up again and again. Was Edel justified in using an "episodic method" to organize the James biography? Should he have relied on psychoanalytic theory as much as he did? How does he compare to Ellmann? As might be expected, opinions vary.

For me, Chapters Five and Six are the most valuable. Chapter Five examines the field of psychobiography. Moving well beyond the traditional complaints about reductionism, the works listed here raise specific questions about biography relevant to post-modern sensibilities. To what extent do the biographer's needs and experiences shape the story? How do the various Freudian and post-Freudian insights influence the biographer's choice of subject and subsequent interpretation? Can psychology and neuroscience provide insights that are helpful in biographical interpretation? Although Rollyson's choices sometimes blur the differences between psychobiography and psychohistory, in this chapter he has gathered a wide-ranging and helpful set of sources.

Chapter Six looks at feminist biography. Since identifying themselves as such, feminist biographers have denied the myth of the author's objectivity. They have pointedly examined their own connections with their subjects, and willingly admitted the transference and identification (albeit often indirect) which may shape their work. They remain unconvinced that "scientific" history is possible, and unthreatened by admissions of subjective entanglements with their subjects. They accept that culture and personal experience shape both the writing and the reading of biographies. With these attitudes they shake the foundations of traditional biographical theory as outlined in Rollyson's early chapters. Although

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

here, as in what has gone before, no certain conclusions can be drawn, this reader, who defines herself (in part) as a feminist biographer, is grateful to Rollyson for his inclusion of the works in these two chapters.

In Chapter Seven Rollyson examines various innovative biographies. He has collected examples of ways that biographers have countered their dissatisfactions with the genre by "interrupting the flow of the narrative" (5). Sometimes they have established a dialogue between themselves and their subjects to make visible their role in the shaping of the story. Others have used different techniques to make clear to the reader where they've made choices among possible interpretations and how these choices have influenced the overall biography. Rollyson labels these efforts "rather timid," but suggests that "dealing with real people . . . makes biography a more conservative form than the novel" (5).

Finally Chapter Eight looks at some novels that deal with the subject of biography. Suggesting that this approach is often "the novelist's revenge on the biographer" (6), Rollyson provides a helpful guide to a small but interesting fictional subgroup. He believes that these books might help those interested in biography to think about the topic in new ways. The book ends on this important thought, without summary or conclusion. The indexes which follow are useful.

Rollyson originally planned to expand his study to include political, military, artistic, and other types of biographies, and his book would have been more valuable had he done so. Nonetheless this book is an important tool for anyone who writes or studies biography. It not only brings together many significant works of the genre, but a careful reader will soon be able to categorize the general debates on the subject. Had the author discussed these more fully in a conclusion, it would have provided the reader with even more guidance, but either way, the book is an important contribution to the field.

Carol Morris Petillo
Boston College

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed Elsewhere

ABAKANOWICZ, MAGDALENA

Magdalena Abakanowicz. Barbara Rose. New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1994, pp. 224. $49.50.

Reviewed by Andrew Solomon. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 19, 1994, p. 25.

"This book will not significantly alter the reputation of Magdalena Abakanowicz; it is more a competent retelling of received wisdom than a new vision. But Ms. Rose does give us ready access to the artist's extremely varied accomplishments. Her readings of the work, despite occasional lapses into sentimentality, are lucid and straightforward, never reductive, and they are seamlessly woven into an orderly biography. And most powerful of all is the voice of keen empathy and emotional engagement that Ms. Rose brings to her exploration of these deeply felt monuments."

AKHMATOVA, ANNA

The Akhmatova Journals: Volume I, 1938–41. Lydia Chukovskaya. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994, pp. 310. $27.50.

Reviewed by Bob Blauner. *The New York Times Book Review,* July 10, 1994, p. 24.

"Diaries so dull that any inquisitive Stalinist henchman would pass them by—clearly this was, at least in some measure, the intent of the Russian writer Lydia Chukovskaya in *The Akhmatova Journals,* a collection of conversations with one of Russia's most idolized poets, Anna Akhmatova (1889–1966). . . . In a world where direct speech has become impossible, metaphor is the language not just of poets, but of all those who would survive. The book is competently translated by Milena Michalski and Sylvia Rubashova and includes a selection of Akhmatova's poetry from the period translated by Peter Norman."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASTRONAUTS

A Man on the Moon: The Voyages of the Apollo Astronauts. Andrew Chaikin. New York: Viking, 1994, pp. 688. $27.95.

Reviewed anonymously. *The New Yorker,* August 1, 1994, p. 81.

"Chaikin's narrative of the Apollo voyages, based on extensive interviews with the astronauts, is riveting—especially his account of Apollo 13, the mission that turned into a cliffhanger when an oxygen tank exploded, crippling the spaceship on its way to the moon. He brings the astronauts to life, stripping away the gray cloak of all-American squareness in which NASA dressed them, and revealing the bright colors of their personalities and the fears and exhilarations of their remarkable journeys."

BEATON, CECIL (See "Garbo, Greta")

BLACK COMEDIANS

On the Real Side. Mel Watkins. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994, pp. 651. $27.50.

Reviewed anonymously. *The New Yorker,* August 1, 1994, p. 81.

"This is a penetrating and immensely enjoyable history of African-American humor from slavery to Richard Pryor—a type of humor that whites scarcely got a real taste of until the nineteen-seventies. Watkins, a writer and former editor of the *Times Book Review,* has produced an encyclopedic overview of the subject that belongs more to the realm of folklore and legend than to that of historical archives."

BOWLES, PAUL

In Touch: The Letters of Paul Bowles. Edited by Jeffrey Miller. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994, pp. 604. $30.00.

Reviewed by Michael Upchurch. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 26, 1994, pp. 1, 27, & 29.

"The letters, clearly, are the most important addition to the work [of Bowles] and do much to dispel certain misapprehensions that have accrued around the Bowles myth. Among them: the notion that his composing career was neatly usurped by his writing career sometime around 1947; that his residence in Tangier has been largely peaceful, politically speaking, since Morocco attained independence in 1956; and that his relationship with his wife was anything less than devoted, even if it did stretch the definition of marriage as most people see it."

CALVERTON, V. F.

V. F. Calverton: Radical in the American Grain. Leonard Wilcox. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993, pp. 400. $44.95.

Reviewed by Frank A. Warren. *American Studies,* vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 165–166.

"Leonard Wilcox has written an excellent study of V. F. Calverton, a long ignored figure in the history of American radicalism. . . . Overall, Wilcox has presented a moving story of an unusual heroic, but terribly flawed, individual whose magazine [*The Modern Quarterly*] kept alive the kind of independent radi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

calism and open exploration of ideas without which any left worth struggling for is unimaginable."

CENTRE POMPIDOU

The Making of Beaubourg: A Building Biography of the Centre Pompidou, Paris. Nathan Silver. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994, pp. 206. $24.95.

Reviewed by Michael Peppiatt. *The New York Times Book Review,* July 10, 1994, p. 29.

"This short, informative and entertaining book describes the gestation and birth of Paris's main modern cultural center from 1969, when it was a mere gleam in President George Pompidou's eye, to its official inauguration in 1977."

CHAYEFSKY, PADDY

Mad as Hell: The Life and Works of Paddy Chayefsky. Shaun Considine. New York: Random House, 1994, pp. 426. $25.00.

Reviewed by Bevya Rosten. *The New York Times Book Review,* August 28, 1994, p. 16.

"Shaun Considine has written a first-rate biography of the playwright and screenwriter Paddy Chayefsky. . . . I suspect that Chayefsky would have been happy to have his name associated with *Mad as Hell.*"

CIVIL WAR GENERALS

Partners in Command: The Relationships Between Leaders in the Civil War. Joseph T. Glatthaar. New York: The Free Press, 1994, pp. 286. $22.95.

Reviewed by John Eisenhower. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 12, 1994, p. 15.

"*Partners in Command* has flaws that tend to distract the reader. The tone is sometimes pedantic. The text is loosely written and often repetitious. But the author has assembled absorbing material on nine prominent Civil War figures and has illustrated his thesis with entertaining anecdotes."

COHEN, BEN

Ben and Jerry's: The Inside Scoop. How Two Real Guys Built a Business With a Social Conscience and a Sense Of Humor. Fred (Chico) Lager. New York: Crown, 1994, pp. 242. $22.50.

Reviewed by Diana B. Henriques. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 19, 1994, p. 12.

"Mr. Lager, who began working at Ben & Jerry's in 1982 and became president and chief executive officer in 1989, deftly and compassionately captures that [Ben Cohen's] genius in all of its entrepreneurial splendor."

DISNEY, WALT

Walt In Wonderland: The Silent Films Of Walt Disney. Russell Merritt and J. B. Kaufman. Baltimore, Le Giornate del Cinema Muta/The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, pp. 164. $39.95.

Reviewed by John Canemaker. *The New York Times Book Review,* July 10, 1994, pp. 14–16.

CC-0. In Public Domain. New York Times Book Review Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Disney's little-known but crucially formative period in animation is the subject of *Walt Disney in Wonderland*, a scholarly and entertaining book that is a combination of film critique, studio history and oral history illustrated with wonderful original animation drawings, storyboards, and rare photos. Because we are dazzled by Disney's later works, his silent films have, until now, been paid far less attention. But the animation historians, Russell Merritt and J. B. Kaufman, make clear that Disney's roles as public figure, entrepreneur, entertainer and purveyor of Middle American values and mores find their origins in a single source: the ambitious young man who struggled to establish the first animation studio in the 1920s."

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID

Ike & Monty. Norman Gelb. New York: Morrow, 1994, pp. 480. $25.00.

Reviewed by Chris Patsilelis. *The New York Times Book Review*, July 17, 1994, p. 16.

"Well researched and highly readable, *Ike & Monty* brims with fresh details and perceptions."

FEYNMAN, RICHARD

No Ordinary Genius: The Illustrated Richard Feynman. Christopher Sykes, ed. New York: Norton, 1994, pp. 272. $29.95.

The Beat of a Different Drum: The Life and Science of Richard Feynman. Jagdish Mehra. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, xxxii + 630 pp. $35.00 or £25.00.

Reviewed by David F. Voss. *Science*, vol. 264, no. 5165, 10 June 1994, p. 1617.

"*No Ordinary Genius* gathers testimony from a . . . diverse group: scientists are side by side with artists who taught Feynman drawing, a model who posed for him, musicians, and family and friends who shared his adventures. The collection is short and light and never promises more than it delivers. *The Beat of a Different Drummer*, on the other hand, attempts to tackle . . . Feynman's life and personality. Insofar as can be discerned from his citations, the author draws . . . on interviews conducted mainly by himself. The approach is chronological, with discussions interspersed with anecdotes about colloquia, symposia, and who said, wrote, or did what. Ultimately, the overwhelming detail gets in the way."

FITZGERALD, FRANCIS SCOTT

Scott Fitzgerald: A Biography. Jeffrey Meyers. New York: HarperCollins, 1994, pp. 368. $27.50.

Reviewed by John Updike. *The New Yorker*, June 27 & July 4, 1994, pp. 186–194.

"The all but sneering tone is what is principally wrong with this biography. Mr. Meyers, like the practitioners of celebrity-centered tabloid journalism, shows his subjects no respect. He ransacks their lives for discreditable incidents and implications."

FORD, GERALD

Time and Chance: Gerald Ford's Appointment with History. James Cannon. New York: HarperCollins, pp. 496. $25.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Michael Wright. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 19, 1994, p. 27.

"Given the material the author had to work with—he talked at length not only with Mr. Ford but nearly everybody who ever knew him or toiled in the Nixon and Ford White Houses, including General Haig—he could have done far more to establish that his subject was (or was not) more than simply a man with few known enemies, in the right spot at the right time."

FULLER, MARGARET

Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life. The Private Years. Charles Capper. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. xvi + 423. $39.95.

Reviewed by Mary Kupiec Cayton. *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, June 1994, pp. 267–268.

"What a stunning book Charles Capper has written! There is nothing methodologically or theoretically innovative in this new biography of Margaret Fuller. What Capper has done—simply, elegantly, and stirringly—is to take the tools of the biographer's craft and put them to exquisite use in fashioning a fascinating portrait of the first major woman intellectual in the United States.

Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life will be required reading for students of American intellectual or cultural history, American women's history, transcendentalism, or American romanticism."

GARBO, GRETA

Loving Garbo: The Story of Greta Garbo, Cecil Beaton, and Mercedes Acosta. Hugo Vickers. New York: Random House, 1994, pp. 333. $25.00.

Reviewed by Stephen Holden. *The New York Times Book Review*, August 21, 1994, p. 29.

"*Loving Garbo*, although very entertaining, has its occasional dry patches. Mr. Vickers has arranged his sources into a seamless, easily followed chronology, but he is overly fond of diary entries that dribble off into colorless travelogue. Still, his revealing portrait of cafe society in the 1930's, 40's and 50's depicts a world in which people's ideas of themselves and of one another are unencumbered by the rhetoric of sexual politics or the language and thought processes of psychotherapy. Beaton, de Acosta, Garbo and those of their circle preferred to see themselves as romantic self-inventions."

Reviewed by Selina Hastings. *The New Yorker Magazine.* July 11, 1994, pp. 86–90.

"Although the story itself is slight, it sheds some new and revealing light on the two participants [Garbo and Cecil Beaton]. Hugo Vickers, who published a six-hundred page life of Cecil Beaton in 1985, has written a detailed and sympathetic account of the relationship, and has uncovered an impressive amount of new and long forgotten material."

GREENFIELD, JERRY (See "Cohen, Ben")

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"GREEN, LINDA"

A Woman's Life: The Story of an Ordinary American and Her Extraordinary Generation. Susan Cheever. New York: Morrow, 1994, pp. 254. $20.00.

Reviewed by Kathleen Norris. *The New York Times Book Review*, July 17, 1994, pp. 10–11.

"Ms. Cheever's keen novelist's eye allows us a fascinating glimpse into one individual life, but her book is also a cautionary tale about the dangers of making broad generalizations about our own experience or that of a generation."

HAND, LEARNED

Learned Hand. Gerald Gunther. New York: Knopf, 1994, pp. 818. $35.00.

Reviewed Anonymously. *The New Yorker*, August 15, 1994, p. 78.

"A great biography of the man known in his time as the greatest living judge. . . . Gunther, who once clerked for Hand, is an unabashed admirer, but his approach is—as, given the occasion it should be—balanced, forceful, judicious, and clear."

HELMHOLTZ, HERMANN VON

Hermann von Helmholtz and the Foundations of Nineteenth-Century Science. David Cahan, ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994, xxx + 666 pp. $65.00.

Reviewed by M. Norton Wise. *Science*, vol. 265, no. 5174, 12 August 1994, pp. 974–976.

"Readers of the 15 historical essays in this fine collection will be struck with how massively that icon of German science, Hermann von Helmholtz, contributed to the content, the institutions, and the goals of modern research science. . . . the collection consists primarily of intellectual history, of the sort in which Helmholtz is 'influenced' by previous individuals and their texts and in turn 'influences' subsequent science. Particularly troubling is that so little shows of the social, economic, and political transformation of Germany that provided many of the resources and opportunities for his rise to power.

Two points are noteworthy: Helmholtz provides a crucial marker for the modern two-cultures dichotomy; and he may be seen as a very early participant in the modernist movement in art, which so prominently abjures context, historical reference, and decoration in favor of abstraction, purity, and essences."

HEPBURN, AUDREY

Audrey Hepburn: A Biography. Warren G. Harris. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994, pp. 381. $23.00.

Reviewed by Chris Chase. *The New York Times Book Review*, August 21, 1994, p. 28.

"Not so magical or filled with grace as its subject, Mr. Harris's biography, his sixth celebrity volume, is a workmanlike job, whose stories sometimes contradict one another."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JACKSON, STONEWALL

The Class of 1846, From West Point to Appomattox, Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan and Their Brothers. John C. Waugh. New York: Warner, 1994, pp. 672. $29.95.

Reviewed by David Murray. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 12, 1994, p. 23.

"Mr. Waugh, for many years a reporter for *The Christian Science Monitor*, has done his homework well, and has deftly translated his findings into a complicated narrative that follows the fate of that class from plebe days to Appomattox and beyond. He is a convincing defender of the academy and cites credible sources."

KING, JR., MARTIN LUTHER

Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Sermonic Power of Public Discourse. Ed. Carolyn Calloway-Thomas and John Louis Lucaites. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993, pp. x + 246. $29.95.

Reviewed by James A. Colaiaco. *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, June 1994, p. 350.

"This in-depth study consists of nine essays—preceded by an instructive introduction and followed by a useful bibliography—analyzing five of King's works from a rhetorical perspective." Thus, "while much scholarly attention has been given to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s biography and leadership, relatively little study has been made of the rhetoric of arguably the greatest orator of the twentieth century."

LA SALLE, ROBERT CAVALIER DE

La Salle. Anka Muhlstein; translated from the French by Willard Wood. New York: Arcade, 1994, pp. 256. $22.95.

Reviewed Anonymously. *The New Yorker*, August 22 & 29, 1994, p. 123.

"Awarded the 1993 History Prize of the Académie Française, this biography of the first European to travel down the Mississippi recalls for us the curiosity and the endurance that won France a North American empire in the seventeenth century. . . . Muhlstein evokes the American wilderness and subtly conveys its effect on Europeans, who discovered that in America they could escape the control their betters exerted over them in Europe."

LAUGHLIN, JAMES (See Pound, Ezra)

LEVANT, OSCAR

A Talent for Genius: The Life and Times of Oscar Levant. Sam Kashner and Nancy Schoenberger. New York: Villard Books, 1994, pp. 512. $25.00.

Reviewed by James R. Oestreich. *The New York Times Book Review*, July 17, 1994, p. 21.

"Although Mr. Kashner and Ms. Schoenberger are husband and wife, their book reads like the work of a committee. And although both are published poets, their prose, in this first collaboration, plods joylessly."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM

The Last Best Hope: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America. Mark E. Neely Jr. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 214. $24.95.

Reviewed by David Trexel. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 12, 1994, p. 17.

"But if this is not a fully fleshed biography that gives us a sense of this complex man, it is as concise and skillful an explication of Abraham Lincoln's political thought as we are likely to find. In a man like Lincoln, who was an ardent believer in the democratic political process and political parties, such a study amounts to an intellectual biography. All of Mr. Neely's strengths come into play here, not only his deep knowledge of Lincoln's writings and positions but also his broader grasps of the issues and figures, both major and minor, in the period."

Dear Mr. Lincoln: Letters to the President. Edited by Harold Holzer. New York: Addison–Wesley, 1994, pp. 380. $26.95.

Reviewed by Richard E. Nicholls. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 12, 1994, p. 23.

"The letters offer further proof of the degree to which many Americans saw Lincoln more as an amiable neighbor than as an unapproachable head of state. They also offer a rough vigorous glimpse of the North in wartime."

Lincoln in American Memory. Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 482. $30.00.

Reviewed by Michael Upchurch. *The New York Times Book Review,* June 26, 1994, pp. 1, 27, & 29.

"Lincoln emerges from this book a figure of controversy and paradox who nonetheless merits his stature as a national icon. He was the product of his time, with all its prejudices and strange moments, as at Gettysburg and the Second Inaugural Address. His ringing pronouncements on liberty and faith have become indelibly welded to America's identity as a nation. *Lincoln in American Memory* is a worthy testament to his enduring influence."

MARECHERA, DAMBUDZO

Dambudzo Marechera: A Source Book on his Life and Work. Flora Veit-Wild. London: Hans Zell, 1992, pp. 400, $76.00.

Reviewed by Stewart Crehan. *Research in African Literatures,* vol. 25, no. 2, Summer 1994, pp. 197–200.

"This thoroughly-researched book, consisting of 124 documents linked by passages of biography and commentary, is essential reading for anyone interested in the life and work of one of Africa's most learned, daring, and subversively innovative writers.

After precipitating the biographical facts from a bubbling Marecherian concoction, it is sometimes difficult to know what to do with the precipitate, other than using it as data for his personal psychopathology. [Nevertheless], Flora Veit-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wild provides material for the kind of in-depth biography that has not been possible up to now."

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE

Mazzini. Denis Mack Smith. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 302. $30.00.

Reviewed by David S. Reynolds. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 26, 1994, p. 24.

"Denis Mack Smith is the best historian of the Risorgiamento in any language. His new book on Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72), the prophet of Italian nationalism, is a splendid biography, informed not only by a deep knowledge of the period but also by evident sympathy for Mazzini as a human being and by considerable respect for his ideas. Indeed, readers of Mr. Mack Smith's previous works—on Garibaldi, Mussolini, Cavour and the Italian monarchs among others—will be struck by the lack of iconoclasm this time."

MCCLELLAN, GEORGE (See "Jackson, Stonewall")

MOB LEADERS

Loyalty and Betrayal: The Story of the American Mob. Sidney Zion. New York: Lookout/Collins, 1994, pp. 144. $19.95.

Reviewed by Charles Salzberg. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 19, 1994, p. 20.

"When millions of people tune in to watch Geraldo Rivera crack open Al Capone's long-lost hidden vault, you know you're on to something. So it should have come as no surprise that the Fox television network last month telecast a special on which *Loyalty and Betrayal: The Story of the American Mob* is based. Crammed with photographs of some of this country's most notorious gangsters—including Al Capone, Bugsy Siegel, Dutch Schultz, Lucky Luciano, Meyer Lansky and John Gotti—the book unfortunately also comes with some banal and overheated prose by Sidney Zion. Mr. Zion, the author of *The Autobiography of Roy Cohn* and a columnist at the *Daily News*, should know better."

MONTGOMERY, BERNARD LAW (See "Eisenhower, Dwight David")

NEWTON, HUEY P.

The Shadow of the Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America. Hugh Pearson. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1994, pp. 422. $24.00.

Reviewed by Bob Blauner. *The New York Times Book Review*, July 10, 1994, pp. 1, 22–23.

"It was a courageous act for Mr. Pearson to write *The Shadow of the Panther.* Yet the book is only partly successful as a deep treatment of the party and Huey P. Newton. When the implications of his project became distasteful, it would seem, Mr. Pearson completed it hastily: the scholarship is at times inadequate. More research is needed to determine how accurately Mr. Pearson has got the story of Panther terrorism and to assess how pervasive was the party's dark side, especially in the context of its contributions to organizing low-income black communities and in instilling pride and hope in them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Moreover, the writing is quite uneven, though in places the book is very well written, achieving the excitement of a political thriller. Just to collect so many gripping stories in one volume is important, too. *The Shadow of the Panther* will be an indispensable source for that complex and textured social history that the Panthers deserve—a book that, because of the 'political mine fields' Mr. Pearson had to navigate, may be 10 to 15 years in the future."

Reviewed Anonymously. *The New Yorker*, August 22 & 29, 1994, p. 122.

"Pearson has written a book with an unsteady narrative and an unfortunate reliance on clichés, but from it a story emerges that is still strong enough to chill the reader. . . . In essence, Pearson argues, the Panthers were a street gang with political overtones who managed to undermine with viciousness every one of their undeniable accomplishments. This book will awaken profound misgivings—about gun-barrel rhetoric, about armed rebellion, about the ambiguities of justice."

OWEN, RICHARD

Richard Owen: Victorian Naturalist. Nicolaas A. Rupke. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, xviii + 462 pp. $45.00 or £35.00.

Reviewed by Camille Limoges. *Science*, vol. 265, no. 5177, 2 September 1994, pp. 1468–1469.

"Richard Owen (1804–1892), the 'English Cuvier,' may have been the greatest comparative anatomist of his time and, by the mid-1850s, 'the most visible scientist of the British Empire.' His glory proved ephemeral. If not written out of history, Owen's name is barely known today beyond circles of historians of biology, by whom moreover he has traditionally been cast in the role of the reactionary archvillain opposing Darwinian evolution theory and deservedly defeated by truth's valiant knight, Thomas Huxley.

In this first and very substantial book-length biography Nicolaas Rupke's contention is that too exclusive attention is still being paid to the history of evolutionary thinking in the assessment of Owen."

PAPP, JOSEPH

Joe Papp: An American Life. Helen Epstein. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1994, pp. 554. $24.95.

Reviewed by Vincent Blasi. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 19, 1994, pp. 3 & 25.

"Ms. Epstein, a freelance journalist, relates Papp's professional achievements interestingly and lucidly, though there are odd gaps. . . . But if there is an overall criticism to be made of the book, it is about its handling of Papp's private life. I sometimes felt Ms. Epstein could have dug deeper, asked harder questions, and maybe speculated more about the workings of that odd, elusive psyche. There are even moments when I wondered if she wasn't the victim of her friendship with Papp and his family. The book was, after all, once conceived as a quasi-official biography, written in cooperation with the producer."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAULDING, JAMES KIRKE

James Kirke Paulding: The Last Republican. Lorman Ratnet. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1992, pp. xviii + 147. $39.95.

Reviewed by Fred Somkin. *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, June 1994, pp. 266–267.

"A New Yorker of Dutch descent, he was born with the Old Republic and lived to the eve of its dissolution. . . . To his contemporaries, Paulding was known as the author of stories, novels, verses, and plays on the grand theme of America and Americans. In the 1830s his works were published in fourteen volumes.

This small book, based on the plausible assumption that Paulding's mind reflected an important segment of American public opinion, demonstrates the way his key notions fit together more or less consistently."

PEIRCE, CHARLES S.

Charles S. Peirce: A Life. Joseph Brent. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993, pp. 512. $35.00.

Reviewed by Paul Jerome Croce. *American Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 163–164.

"Brent's meticulously researched life of Peirce thoroughly grounds his thought in his life, although it has only minimal concern for Peirce's cultural context. Most impressively, Brent understands his philosophy well enough to show what motivated Peirce's thoughts and how an understanding of his life can illuminate themes in his philosophy.

Brent's biography shows that underneath Peirce's influential logic of science and theory of signs is a religious quest for meaning. The metaphysical roots of his logic also point back to his life's failures. . . . These biographical insights about the logical philosopher suggest dramatic new lines of inquiry into the religious roots of American pragmatism, semiotics, and philosophy of science."

POUND, EZRA

Ezra Pound and James Laughlin: Selected Letters. Edited by David M. Gordon. New York: Norton, 1994, pp. 313. $30.00.

Reviewed Anonymously. *The New Yorker*, August 15, 1994, p. 79.

"From these letters one gets an irreverent can of mid-twentieth-century literature and often scurrilous appraisals of its eminent practitioners. . . . Valuable though this correspondence is as literary history, the reader must be warned that Pound's epistolary style, a thing of cryptic neologisms, cracker-barrel wheezes and unfunny illiteracies—'Waal/you axed fer advice'—is present in all its horror."

POWELL, LEWIS F., JR.

Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr. John C. Jeffries, Jr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994, pp. 630. $30.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Vincent Blasi. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 19, 1994, pp. 3 & 25.

"In his outstanding biography, Mr. Jeffries, who once served as Justice Powell's law clerk and who now teaches at the University of Virginia School of Law, characterizes his former boss as a 'hard-line moderate.' The label is appropriate."

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO

The Roosevelt Presence: A Biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Patrick J. Maney. New York: Twayne, 1992, pp. xvi + 255. Cloth $26.95, paper $13.95.

Reviewed by Douglas Craig. *The Journal of American History*, vol. 81, no. 1, June 1994, pp. 325–326.

"Condensing Franklin D. Roosevelt into 203 pages, and doing it elegantly, is a significant achievement." Although Maney, "adds little that is new [he] provides a well-packaged synthesis. As an undergraduate text it will supplement, but not supplant, William E. Leuchtenberg's more detailed *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (1963) and Paul K. Conkin's more meditative *The New Deal* (1967)."

THE ROOSEVELTS

The Roosevelts: An American Saga. Peter Collier with David Horowitz. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994, pp. 542. $27.50.

Reviewed by John A. Garraty. *The New York Times Book Review*, June 19, 1994, p. 13.

"Unlike most family histories, *The Roosevelts* is not a description of the lives of a series of important people related over the generations by a common ancestor. Peter Collier and his collaborator, David Horowitz, do treat briefly the earlier history of the family that produces the famous Roosevelts—Theodore, Franklin and Eleanor—and the divisions of the clan into the Oyster Bay and Hyde Park branches. It also describes the early life of the famous three and offers vivid and persuasive analyses of their personalities."

SAGDEEV, ROALD Z.

The Making of a Soviet Scientist: My Adventures in Nuclear Fusion and Space from Stalin to Star Wars. Roald Z. Sagdeev. Susan Eisenhower, ed. New York: Wiley, 1994, xii + 339 pp. $24.95 or £14.95.

Reviewed by Gennady Gorelik. *Science*, vol. 264, no. 5163, 27 May 1994, pp. 1347–1349.

"The pace of Russian history in this century has been so rapid that the most suitable unit of measure is the half-generation. The author had the opportunity to be closely acquainted with such remarkable and distinctive personalities of different half-generations as Piotr Kapitsa, Lev Landau, and Andrei Sakharov, and his narrative is full of personal glimpses that help illuminate the human side of Soviet physics."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Books Received
July 1 to September 31, 1994

Allen, James Smith, editor. James Palmes, translator. *In the Solitude of My Soul: The Diary of Genevieve Breton, 1876–1871.* Southern Illinois University Press, 1994. 287 pp. $16.95 (paper).

Andrews, Gordon. *A Designers Life.* University of New South Wales Press, 1994. 192 pp. $69.95.

Baker, Colin. *Development Governor: A Biography of Sir Geoffrey Colby.* I. B. Tauris, 1994. 407 pp. $59.50.

Benstock, Shari. *No Gifts from Chance: A Biography of Edith Wharton.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994. 546 pp. $28.00.

Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages.* Harcourt Brace and Company, 1994. 578 pp. $29.95.

Burner, Eric R. *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi.* New York University Press, 1994. 224 pp. $24.95.

Bussow, Conrad. G. Edward Orchard, translator. *The Disturbed State of the Russian Realm.* McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. 286 pp. $44.95.

Brake, Laurel. *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteeth Century.* New York University Press, 1994. 256 pp. $15.00.

Crane, Elaine Forman, editor. *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker: The Life Cycle of an Eighteenth-Century Woman.* Northeastern University Press, 1994. xxxiv + 366 pp. $14.95 (paper).

Crossley, Robert. *Olaf Stapledon: Speaking for the Future.* Syracuse University Press, 1994. 494 pp. $39.95.

Erickson, Carolly. *Great Catherine: The Life of Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia.* Crown, 1994. 392 pp. $25.00.

Fenwick, Gillian. *Women and the Dictionary of National Biography: A Guide to DNB Volumes 1885–1985 and Missing Persons.* Scolar Press, 1994. 181 pp. $74.95.

Grant, Michael. *Constantine The Great: The Man and His Times.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994. 267 pp. $27.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hanchett, William. *The Life of Abraham Lincoln: Out of the Wilderness.* University of Illinois Press, 1994. 151 pp. $7.95 (paper).

Herzstein, Robert E. *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994. 521 pp. $30.00.

Jeffries, John C., Jr. *Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr.: A Biography.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994. 702 pp. $30.00.

Johnson, Ben F. III. *Fierce Solitude: A Life of John Gould Fletcher.* University of Arkansas Press, 1994. 304 pp. $24.00.

Langer, Elinor. *Josephine Herbst.* Northeastern University Press, 1994. 384 pp. $14.95 (paper).

Loving, Neal V. *Loving's Love: A Black American's Experience in Aviation.* Smithsonian Institute Press, 1994. 304 pp. $29.95.

McDonald, Neil. *War Cameraman: The Story of Damien Parer.* Lothian, 1994. 270 pp. $34.95 (paper).

McKenna, Katherine M. J. *A Life of Propriety: Ann Murray Powell and Her Family.* McGill-Queens University Press, 1994. 327 pp. $34.95.

Malbantian, Suzanne. *Aesthetic Autobiogrphy: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Anais Nin.* St. Martin's, 1994. 234 pp. $35.00.

Martin-Wagner, Linda. *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography.* Rutgers University Press, 1994. 200 pp. $22.95.

Masavisut, Nitaya, George Simson, and Larry E. Smith, editors. *Gender and Culture in Literature and Film East and West: Issues of Perception and Interpretation.* Literary Studies East and West 9. College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, University of Hawai'i, and the East-West Center, 1994. xxxv + 297 pp. $20.00 (paper).

Porter, Robert. *Paul Hasluck: A Political Biography.* University of Western Australia Press, 1993. 351 pp. $39.95.

Ross, James R. *Caught in a Tornado: A Chinese-American Woman Survives the Cultural Revolution.* Northeastern University Press, 1994. 175 pp. $21.95.

Troide, Lars E. and Stewart J. Cooke, editors. *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney.* Volume III. *The Streatham Years, Part I: 1778–1779.* McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994. xxii + 477 pp. $70.00.

Wills, John E., Jr. *Mountain of Fame: Portraits of Chinese History.* Princeton University Press, 1994. 419 pp. $24.95.

Ziffrin, Marilyn. *Carl Ruggles: Composer, Painter, and Storyteller.* University of Illinois Press, 1994. 274 pp. $37.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Notes on Contributors

David M. Bergeron ("Masculine Interpretation of Queen Anne, Wife of James I") is Professor of English at the University of Kansas. His recent book, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (University of Missouri Press, 1991), offers a biography of the Stuart Royal family. He is editor of a forthcoming collection of essays: *Reading and Writing in Shakespeare* (University of Delaware Press).

Polly Carver Jordan ("Biography about Children for Children") is a mother, grandmother, teacher, and writer. Born and raised in the state of Idaho, she received her college education at Idaho State University. Mrs. Jordan lived abroad for many years in England and India and has traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, and the former Soviet Union. Her great interest in young people has led her to write and lecture for youth groups in the United States and to organize and supervise an active Service Corps for students in New Delhi.

Joy Logan (Review of Smith and Watson, *De/Colonizing the Subject*) is Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Carol Morris Petillo (Review of Rollyson, *Biography: An Annotated Bibliography*) is Associate Professor of History at Boston College.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Barnett Singer ("Colonial Background and Leadership in World War I: The Tragic Case of Gallieni") teaches at several universities in Southern Ontario. He is a specialist in French history, with a Ph.D. from the University of Washington under David Pinkney and publications that include *Modern France: Mind, Politics, Society.*

Margot Strickland ("Ghosting an Autobiography") was first published at the age of eleven, while a refugee from the Spanish Civil War, by Oxford University Press. Her first book, *The Byron Women*, was followed by *Angela Thirkell: Portrait of a Lady Novelist*, fiction, essays, criticism, poetry, and *Moura: Her Autobiography.*

Sherry E. Sullivan ("Management's Unsung Theorist: An Examination of the Works of Lillian M. Gilbreth") is Associate Professor of Management at Bowling Green State University and editor of *Career Forum*. Her research interests include stress, older workers, career stages, and international human resource management.

Robert Thacker (Review of Buss, *Mapping Our Selves*) is Professor in the Canadian Studies Program, St. Lawrence University.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In Memoriam
Ruth Renée Heyum

A biographer of Ruth Renée Heyum might easily get caught up in the game of "What-Might-Have-Been." Born into the comfortable Jewish middle class of Frankfurt am Main, Hitler and National Socialism forced her into the role of refugee. As a refugee, her planned career as a doctor became hard work in a hotel, and an accident and poor, clandestine medical care crippled her for life.

It was by chance that at forty she found a job at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Yet, under the tutelage of her mentor, the Catholic priest and Oceanist Father Patrick O'Reilly, she became one of Europe's premier bibliographers of African and Pacific cultures. This, of course, led to her second career at the University of Hawai'i, and under Ms. Heyum's guidance the Hawaiian and Pacific Collection became the most important collection of its kind in the world. She might have been a great doctor; instead she was a great librarian, and for this work, she was awarded the Order of Merit by the French government, commended by the Governor of Hawai'i, and made an Honorary Fellow of the Association of Social Anthropology.

A greater difficulty for our biographer—greater even than dealing with the "might have beens"—would be the traps Ms. Heyum set with her personal "what weres." An essentially timid person, she could be exceptionally forthright and frank. Having lived a life touched more than once by sadness, she was both mordantly witty and outright funny. Frugal in her expenses, she was extremely

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

generous and charitable. Forced to be dependent on others, she was fiercely independent. An admittedly "lousy cook," she was a gourmet of the first rank.

Ms. Heyum would undoubtedly be pleased to know that her biographer would need to go to French for a word to sum up her remarkable life. For the French, to be Someone ("Quelqu'un") is to have importance, to exude aura, to project presence. When we heard of her death this past December, those of us at *Biography* who knew her—she was our Librarian—realized almost at once: *She Was Someone.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FRANK DONOGHUE

Laurence Sterne and the Fantasy of Individual Patronage

The most fascinating moment in all of Sterne's correspondence occurs in a letter to Eliza Draper, written in 1767, in which he recollects his first meeting with the great Lord Bathurst in 1760, shortly after the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy* appeared in print:

> He came up to me, one day, as I was at the Princess of Wales' court. "I want to know you, Mr. Sterne; but it is fit you should know, also, who it is that wishes this pleasure. You have heard, continued he, of an old Lord Bathurst, of whom your Popes, and Swifts have sung and spoken so much: I have lived my life with geniuses of that cast; but have survived them; and, despairing ever to find their equals, it is some years since I have closed my accounts, and shut up my books, with thoughts of never opening them again: but you have kindled a desire in me of opening them once more before I die; which I now do; so go home and dine with me."[1]

Established by 1767 as an immensely popular author, Sterne expresses a wish to cement his position in the literary tradition of his century. Bathurst, the patron of Swift and Pope, and now seventy-six years old, is the superannuated symbol of the continuity between Sterne and the giants of the previous age, and Sterne ventriloquizes that connection explicitly through Bathurst. He presents this meeting, with all the affective force of the best episodes of *A Sentimental Journey*, as one of the most important events of his life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The real relationship between Sterne and Bathurst, however, bears only slight resemblance to the kind of bond we might expect to follow from Sterne's highly stylized account of its beginnings. Bathurst did gain an introduction to Sterne by subscribing to the first two volumes of *The Sermons of Mr. Yorick* in 1761, and he occasionally entertained the author as a dinner guest. But his financial support thereafter was nominal, and he did not, as Sterne implies, unreservedly invite the author into his private life and social circle. Indeed, the dialogue which Sterne ascribes to Bathurst in the letter is curiously inappropriate as well: in Sterne's fantasy, the noble patron is rendered into a shrewd businessman. Bathurst closes his accounts and shuts up his books when he fails to see a promising investment, behavior fitting for a member of the merchant class, but grossly out of place for a nobleman. Having never witnessed firsthand the relationship between an aristocratic patron and an author (unaware perhaps of how preposterous was the image of Lord Bathurst as corporate accountant), Sterne fills in the blanks as best he can.

The letter raises, if obliquely, a host of questions which this essay will attempt to answer, questions about the transformation of the means of literary production in the eighteenth century, and also about the sources and nature of the fame authors attain in an environment no longer dominated by patronage. How, for example, do we reconcile Sterne's sense of the significance of meeting Bathurst with the token financial support that he actually received from the lord? Since Sterne clearly did not benefit in a practical way from Bathurst, what need did meeting Bathurst satisfy? And how do we weigh the endorsement of the most selective of noble patrons against other, more immediate indexes of Sterne's success as an author, such as book sales and favorable reviews?

The death of aristocratic patronage of literature in England is traditionally assigned to one of several dates in the eighteenth century: Samuel Johnson's letter in 1755 denouncing Lord Chesterfield for failing to support the *Dictionary* and Pope's ingenious subscription project for his translation of the *Iliad* (a move that made him financially independent for life) are perhaps the most famous examples. It goes without saying that the whole story is much more complex than these tidy, self-contained moments can convey. But it is also safe to assume that the eighteenth century witnessed an extensive transformation in the working conditions under which its authors operated.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Literary production in the eighteenth century (and again I speak in the broadest generalities) existed in a kind of limbo, between an age of substantial court support and the fully developed literary market of the nineteenth century. Direct support of literary figures by the nobility failed to keep pace with a mushrooming population of writers, and this pattern reduced individual patronage to an insignificant fraction of literary sponsorship. Its place was taken by a variety of other more broadly based and indirect forms of patronage, such as publication by subscription.[2] I contend that this transition precipitated a crisis among certain classes of authors, a crisis whose cause is as much symbolic as it is material. Ambitious writers who sought a place in literary culture could, in an earlier age, have sought the support of a high-ranking nobleman. That nobleman's tokens of individual patronage would in turn not only have provided the author with the leisure to write, but perhaps more importantly, would have conferred upon him the status of an elite public figure, favored by the aristocracy and therefore in some intangible way identified with it.

By 1750, with very few exceptions, this symbolic aspect of patronage no longer operated. The figure of the nobleman in the patron-author relationship had been atomized—broken up into a list of subscribers or a conger of booksellers, both largely untitled groups (Belanger). The means to write—indeed, considerable profit—was still available to talented writers, but the concomitant personalized social validation was lost.

Writers reacted to this loss in a variety of ways. Samuel Johnson, in several *Rambler* and *Idler* essays, satirized the figure of the obsequious author acting the part of jester at the table of a great man.[3] The radical journalist James Ralph discounted altogether the possibility of personal patronage. In *The Case of Authors*, he lists only three means by which a writer can make a living: writing for booksellers, writing for the theater, or writing for a political faction (19).[4] Laurence Sterne's reaction was particularly complex because, unlike many of his contemporaries, he was deeply invested in the ideal of personal patronage. More remarkable was his success in seeking out the peculiarly social aspect of this kind of patronage that was presumed to be no longer available.

Sterne's personal transition from a fantasy of individual patronage to the realities of the open market was significantly incomplete: he never fully relinquished the belief that being an author entailed a special affinity with the aristocracy. And yet, astonish-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ingly, he seems to have realized liminally, intuitively perhaps, but without prompting, that he would have to present both his writing and himself as commodities in order to succeed. His reluctance to let go of the old conception of patronage, even as he embraced the new, is a compelling testimony to the confusion caused by the changing conditions of literary production during the middle of the century.

In order to make sense of Sterne's attachment to the idea of noble patronage, we need first to recognize the importance of his first career as a clergyman, and to explore how his decision to write *Tristram Shandy* emerged.[5] Sterne's strategies for advancement in the field of literature are, I suggest, adapted from traditional means of advancement in the Church of England: he reasonably assumed that his new career, like his old, would be made possible by a patron. Even a much more detailed account of the clerical profession than this essay allows would not easily clarify the significance of Sterne's accomplishments during his twenty-two years in the full-time service of the Anglican Church. Geoffrey Holmes accurately characterizes the Church as the "most haphazard of professions" during the eighteenth century (106).[6] The chief flaws in its career structure were, as he observes, the "insecurity of tenure" that resulted from intense overcrowding and a byzantine system of patronage that did not reward merit with any consistency. Although it is impossible to assess Sterne's clerical career until 1759 as typical or atypical, we can identify, in his letters especially, frustrations and disappointments that were common for those in situations like his. What is extraordinary about Sterne's case, of course, is that he ultimately exorcised his frustrations by writing *Tristram Shandy*.

It is worth pausing, however, to consider the nature of those frustrations. Joseph Addison joked in *Spectator* 21 (March 24, 1711) that the clergy in England "are not to be numbered," and that should they "enter into the corrupt Practice of the Laity, by the splitting of their Freeholds, they would be able to carry most of the Elections in *England*."[7] The claim was perhaps less hyperbolic in 1740, when Sterne was ordained, than when Addison wrote. Those without "the advantages of birth and influence" were, as Norman Sykes describes, involved in "a lottery in which the number of blanks was alarmingly high, and the proportion of small prizes still higher" (cited in Holmes 95).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Compounding the problem of simple overcrowding was the arbitrary nature of the sponsorship of would-be clerics. Throughout the first half of the century, the upper clergy remained a "closed shop for the well-connected" (Holmes 90). As for the rest, a bewildering but inefficient array of sources of patronage existed. At the beginning of the century, there were more than a thousand livings in the Lord Chancellor's gift. The Church of England's hierarchy itself determined about one-quarter of all pastoral appointments. And in the first three decades of the century, Oxford and Cambridge colleges "embarked on a systematic spending spree, picking up patronage of livings where and when they could in order to be able to place their Fellows advantageously" (Holmes 101). But an inordinate number of these positions went to relatives of those who assigned them. Moreover, Holmes estimates that "perhaps two-thirds" of the Anglican clergy numbered among "the shabbily genteel, the straitened, the depressed and the submerged" (108). Many of these depended on subscriptions for their subsistence, and could effectually be starved out if the subscribers refused to honor their pledges.

Sterne's own career includes many of the successes and disappointments of a typical clerical life. His progress was promising at first: aided by his uncle Jaques Sterne, he acquired a living at Sutton-on-the-Forest in 1738, and a second, at Stillington, in 1744 (Cash, *Early and Middle Years* 137–50). By 1756 he had good prospects for a third living, and as Arthur Cash speculates, "had he waited patiently, he might have ended his life as a prosperous Yorkshire clergyman" (*Early and Middle Years* 261). But he could not contain his ambition. After this promising uphill climb, his hopes received an irrevocable setback when he sided with John Fountayne (the Dean of York, with whose help Sterne hoped to gain his third living) in a controversy with Dr. Francis Topham. Sterne led the pamphlet attack on Topham, who had schemed to reserve an important clerical position for his son (then only seven years old). Sterne culminated his efforts with *A Political Romance* (1759), but on the eve of its publication, John Gilbert, Bishop of York, summoned Fountayne, Topham, and Sterne to London and—by means that remain a mystery—settled the quarrel. The publication of *A Political Romance* was summarily canceled, and Sterne blamed his wasted efforts on Fountayne, whom he felt, did not reciprocate his loyalty (Cash, *Early and Middle Years* 262–

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

77). Beginning *Tristram Shandy* in 1759 was the first step in a career change he initiated because he ceased to see hope for further advancement in his original field.

His letters during this transition period reveal the remarkable extent to which he saw the two careers (authorship and the clergy) as interchangeable. He saw both as possible means to a level of professional or social fulfillment that he wanted to reach, and as equally acceptable narratives of his public life. He confesses that his motivations for "turning author" are first, despair over the slow pace of his professional advancement in the clergy—"ought I know I may not be preferr'd till the Resurrection of the Just" (*Letters* 76)—and second, resentment of the toil for his superiors that would earn such advancement. The letters bear no evidence that Sterne saw his decision to turn to writing as a radical redirection of his life. They suggest both how narrow and how uniform his conception of professional life is. The advancement he hopes for is an unspecified kind of prestige as a public figure, that could be won just as easily by an author as by a prebendary.

In the same letter, written in November 1759, Sterne admits, in a particularly cryptic apology, his most secret hopes for what a literary career will do for him. Discussing *Tristram Shandy*, he draws the analogy between the clerical and writing professions even more tightly: "I deny I have gone as farr as Swift—He keeps a due distance from Rabelais—& I keep a due distance from him—Swift has said a hundred things I durst not Say—Unless I was Dean of St. Patrick's" (*Letters* 76). The significance of the condition "Unless I was Dean of St. Patrick's" can only be appreciated fully in light of the relationship Sterne himself draws between his frustration in the Church and his decision to embark on a writing career. In fact, only a few months later, once *Tristram Shandy* had been published and its author made instantly famous, Sterne deliberately aligned himself with Swift. Writing to Richard Berenger on March 8, 1760, about the possibility that Hogarth might sketch the frontispiece to the second edition of *Tristram Shandy*, volumes 1 and 2, Sterne recalled, "Oft did Swift sigh to Pope in these words—*Orna me*" (*Letters* 99). In short, Sterne felt that *Tristram Shandy* would guarantee him a literary preferment. It would not make him Dean of St. Patrick's, but it would make him independent of the Dean of York. That step, he hoped, would end his professional stagnation, and make it possible for him someday to advance to a position of power sufficient for him to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

get away with saying things as outrageous as Swift had. As for the problem of how he would go about acquiring this literary preferment, Sterne claimed to know only enough in the summer and fall of 1759 to say, "I depend much upon the candour of the publick" (*Letters* 84).

In fact he knew much more: specifically, that there was no unmediated path to the "candour of the publick." He realized that he would require assistance to succeed as an author just as he needed (and did not get) help to succeed in the Church. All of Sterne's assumptions about professional advancement came from his experience with the Church of England's intricate and nepotistic patronage system, its practices and customs firmly entrenched since Walpole's rise to power nearly a generation before Sterne was ordained. Thus, Sterne's initial methods, as well as his aim, were no different than those of a prebendary politicking for ecclesiastical preferment. He assumed, first, that there was an equivalent literary hierarchy, and second, that it operated in a similar way, but this vision, complete with potential patrons at every level, was no longer accurate by 1760.

Sterne's choice of David Garrick as a benefactor reveals both his shrewdness and his limited awareness of the literary culture of his day. Garrick was, by his thirteenth year as Drury Lane's manager and part owner, a patron of great stature, a man who could not supply an author with money, but who had complete control over the production of plays at his theater. The recipients of Garrick's patronage though, formed a very small, closed circle; indeed, some of them enlisted titled friends to intercede with the manager on their behalf. Moreover, Garrick was in a position to offer significant help largely to playwrights, so it is difficult to see how he could be of use to a man who had just completed a novel.[8]

Nevertheless, Sterne began his efforts to insure the favorable reception of *Tristram Shandy* with a baldly strategic address to Garrick. His only means of access to Garrick was the actress and singer, Catherine Fourmantel, with whom Sterne was at the time carrying on a flirtation. Sterne took advantage of her slight acquaintance with Garrick by sending her a letter, "with intention that she recopy it and send it as from herself" to Garrick. The letter served to identify Sterne, and to recommend his book:

> There are two Volumes just published here which have made a great noise, & have had a prodigious Run; for in 2 Days after they came out, the Bookseller sold two hundred—& continues selling

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> them very fast. It is, The Life & Opinions of Tristram Shandy, which the Author told me last night at our Concert, he had sent up to London, so perhaps you have seen it; If you have not seen it, pray get it & read it, because it has a great Character as a witty smart Book, and if You think it is so, your good word in Town will do the Author; I am sure great Service; You must understand, He is a kind & generous friend of mine. . . . His name is Sterne, a gentleman of great Preferment & a Prebendary of the Church of York, & has a great Character in these Parts as a man of Learning & wit. (*Letters* 85–86, January 1, 1760)

Amazingly, the letter accomplished everything that Sterne could have hoped. Garrick wrote to Sterne asking for a copy, and was favorably impressed (as he had been set up to be).

On January 27, 1760, we find Sterne himself writing to Garrick and mentioning that he had heard that the actor "had actually spoke well of my Book." This first letter is a further attempt to secure Garrick's approbation, and is as carefully calculated as the Fourmantel letter. Sterne thanks Garrick for his good opinion, and half apologizes for not having sent him the two volumes before publication. He even hints coyly at his motives for seeking out Garrick: "I know not what it was (tho 'I lye abominably,' because I know very well) which inclined me more to wish for your Approbation, than any Others" (*Letters* 86). Significantly, this and subsequent letters to Garrick are written in a prose style no different from that of *Tristram Shandy* itself. Sterne begins the first letter, for example, by recording in Shandean fashion his recent worries about writing to such a famous man:

> I had a strong Propensity when I did myself the pleasure of sending You the two vols to have accompanied them with a Letter to You:—I took up my Pen twice—hang it!—I shall write a vile insinuating Letter, the english of which will be,—to beg Mr. Garrick's good word for my Book, whether the Book deserves it or no—I will not, the Book shall go to the Devil first. (*Letters* 86)

He then reiterates that the book "has therefore gone forth into the world, hot as it came from my Brain, without one Correction:—'tis however a picture of myself, & so far may bid the fairer for being an Original." In fact, he had revised *Tristram Shandy* extensively after Robert Dodsley initially showed no interest in it, but Sterne was anxious to convey the impression that everything he wrote—from *Tristram Shandy* to everyday correspondence—was spontaneous and "Original."[9] His second letter is written even more eccentrically, more in the style of the novel. Alluding to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rumor about the powerful Bishop of Gloucester, William Warburton, appearing as Tristram's tutor in future volumes, Sterne writes: "'Twas for all the world like a cut across my finger with a sharp penknife.—I saw the blood—gave it a suck—wrapt it up—and thought no more about it" (*Letters* 92).

During the first few months after *Tristram Shandy*'s publication, Sterne relied on the Shandy style whenever he sought an important ornament for his growing reputation: specifically Garrick's friendship, Warburton's goodwill, and a Hogarth frontispiece for the second edition of *Tristram Shandy*, volumes one and two. For this last favor, Sterne/Shandy wrote to Richard Berenger, whom he had met through Garrick:

> prithee sally out to Leicester fields, and when you have knocked at the door (for you must knock) and got in—begin thus "Mr. Hogarth, I have been with my friend Shandy this morning"—but go on yr own way—as I shall do mine . . . Yrs most Shandaically L Sterne.[10] (*Letters* 99–100).

It is important to keep in mind that Sterne's means of making Garrick's acquaintance, though ingenious, were also coincidental. That is, the success of the letter may or may not reveal a great deal about Sterne's hopes and the extent of his professional awareness. Sterne may, for example, have correctly estimated the vast extent of Garrick's connections, or he may only have been vaguely optimistic about the value of Garrick's "good word in town."

The results of Garrick's approbation of Sterne were tangible, but how specifically Sterne anticipated such rewards we simply don't know. The same applies to the nature of the fame that Sterne associated with Garrick. Peter Briggs has argued that Sterne's decision to seek out Garrick rather than, say, Samuel Johnson, indicates that he sought a theatrical as opposed to a literary kind of celebrity. Briggs's argument is only persuasive though, if one minimizes the chance nature of Sterne's acquaintance with Garrick. It may be that Sterne distinguished the difference between theatrical and literary fame, that he deliberately presented his highly theatrical book to the right audience, and that he acted the part of his protagonists, Tristram and Yorick, in real life. Or it may simply be that Catherine Fourmantel happened to know Garrick and not Samuel Johnson. So the relationship between Sterne and Garrick contains a couple of formal difficulties which are probably unresolvable.

Sterne's estimation and exploitation of Garrick's position of influence in fashionable London society does say something,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

though, about how he conceived of his literary practice at this early stage. Certainly one can infer that he perceived fashionable London as indisputably the most desirable readership. But, a more important conclusion is to be drawn from the nature of the fame Sterne sought and the methods by which he sought it. He struggled to reconcile his complete willingness to commodify himself with the fantasy that his best readers, at least, could still stand as discrete individuals—a personal network in which he hoped to enlist with the help of its leader, whom he presumed to be Garrick. Even as Sterne deliberately set about to capture the attention of a mass audience, he measured his fame in purely personal terms: celebrated acquaintances, a heavy slate of dinner engagements, occasional gifts from the nobility, and meeting the prince. Boswell describes him:

> By Fashion's hands completely drest
> He's everywhere a welcome Guest;
> He runs about from place to place,
> Now with my Lord, then with his Grace,
> And mixing with the brilliant throng,
> He straight commences Beau Garcon.
> (*Letters* 106)

Boswell caricatures the defining features of Sterne's ambitions to upward mobility, fixing, like Sterne himself, on all the details than suggest he is now welcome in (perhaps part of) the aristocratic social circles to which *Tristram Shandy* has given him access. Far more clearly than Sterne however, Boswell sees the absurdity of the rural parson's "mixing with the brilliant throng." As the recollection about Bathurst suggests, Sterne clung to the fantasy of the rewards of personal patronage—an affiliation with the nobility and social elite—throughout his life as a writer, but his naive faith that one advances in literature as one does in the Church of England is never so apparent than in these first few months of the Shandy vogue.

This naivete however, did not blur the uncanny self-consciousness with which Sterne marketed himself during this period. His correspondence with Catherine Fourmantel (an insider from the start) is particularly revealing in its differences from the letters designed to further his popularity. He does not adopt the Shandy style. He seems genuinely astounded by his sudden popularity and openly eager to help it along. He boasts to her in March 1760

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

about receiving a stipend of £160 per year from Lord Fauconberg, and again in April that "there is a fine print," the first by Reynolds, "going to be done of me" (*Letters* 101–2). In his most straightforward and astonishing admission of his surrender to a consumer public, he writes to her, "I shall make the most of myself & sell both inside and out" (*Letters* 105).

For the most valuable insight into this confusing juxtaposition of attitudes, I think we must look to Sterne's relationship with Garrick. Sterne's solicitation of Garrick and the means by which he secured him as a benefactor are usually attributed to the aspiring author's entrepreneurial skill aided by the coincidence of Catherine Fourmantel's acquaintance. But these general speculations leave key questions unanswered: where did Sterne acquire his entrepreneurial skill, and why did the tactics he chose work so well on Garrick? I contend that courting the attention of Garrick was Sterne's first attempt to define himself professionally after abandoning hope of advancement in the Church. In the absence of a conventional career pattern or public image for writers of fiction, Sterne looked to the theater as the best available model for capturing the attention of a mass audience.

And Garrick epitomized the London theater in 1760. He had not yet reached Olympian heights as a cultural figure—he was not elected to Johnson's Club until 1767. Although his power as manager of one of the two patented theaters was considerable, he still existed foremost in the public imagination as an actor. But Garrick's complete identification with acting is also precisely what made him controversial, the subject of critiques of his fame by Johnson, Goldsmith, and most acerbically, Joshua Reynolds. Reynolds echoes the complaint of his contemporaries that "great as Garrick was on the stage, he was at least equal if not still superior at the table, and here he had too much the same habit of preparing himself, as if he was to act a principal part" (Hilles 97). Garrick seems, in Reynolds' description, a "slave to his reputation," driven by his desire for fame to extend the prepared behavior of the stage into every aspect of his public life. The practice jeopardized the possibility of his relating to individuals as opposed to large groups: Johnson described him as having "friends but no friend"[11] (Boswell 3: 439).

Reynolds offers an even subtler theory of the incompatibility of fame and intimacy. Speaking generally about people like Garrick, he says:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> An inordinate desire after fame produces an entire neglect of their old friends . . . their whole desire and ambition is centered in extending their reputation by showing their tricks before fresh new men. That moment you begin to congratulate yourself on your new acquaintances, your intimacy ceases. (Hilles 98)

Ultimately, he concludes, people who, like Garrick, are motivated by "greediness" for "immediate gratification" forfeit any sense of themselves as consistent subjects: "from having no great general principle they live in perpetual anxiety what conduct to take on every occasion to insure this petty praise" (Hilles 99).

The path Garrick followed from slavery to his reputation to an unprincipled thirst for praise from any audience is replicated, as I hope to show, in the path Sterne followed in the early stages of his career. It is, I would argue, the inevitable course of any author's relationship with a consumer public. That public can only apprehend the author as a figure akin to an actor on stage, and only within this framework can the ready audience be construed as the author's "friends." (Johnson, had he lived later, would perhaps have said that Garrick had fans but no friends.) Sterne and Garrick's affinity for one another—Cash describes them as "fascinated with each other" (*Later Years* 8)—can be traced in part to the virtuosity they shared in projecting themselves before mass audiences, and to the restlessness that seemed to compel both of them always to show "their tricks before fresh new men." Similarities in their visions of the ideal relationship with an audience reach as far back as Sterne's sermons, which were occasionally prefaced with a list of "dramatis personae," and were originally to be published under the title, *The Dramatic Sermons of Mr. Yorick* (Cash, *Early and Middle Years* 127).

What makes Sterne's intuitions about presenting himself strategically as Tristram significant is that he extended practices that have their origins in the theater not merely to "the table," as Garrick had, but to the printed page. He was Tristram and/or Yorick to a reading public of thousands, many of whom did not even know him, a point that Boswell makes concisely in the conclusion of the epigram cited above:

> A buzzing whisper flys about;
> Wher'er he comes they point him out;
> Each waiter with an eager eye
> Observes him as he passes by;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'That there he is do, Thomas! look,
Who's wrote such a damn'd clever book.'
(*Letters* 106)

Indeed, the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy* precipitated a kind of cult surrounding the author. Dr. John Hill observed in May 1760: "The discourse, where I was, turned not upon the book, but upon the man. . . . We long to know something of the man, whose exploits astonish us, or whose wit has charmed us" (6: 33).

Sterne as an author, though, as his correspondence with Garrick suggests, was so adeptly grafted to his characters that the distinction between the book and the man quickly became impossible to draw. The identification of author and character in Sterne's life and work suggests the presence of a remarkable (and distinctly modern) alertness to the nature of consumer demand in the field of literature. In the past, literary works had not determined the public image of their authors. Though Pope and Swift, for example, both made use of elaborate personae, no one conceived of Pope and Martinus Scriblerus as a single identity, and the character of Isaac Bickerstaff, when it was appropriated by Addison and Steele, did not remain fused with Swift. Over the course of the next few decades one can observe however, several other examples in which "the book" and "the man" are conflated. The public identities of both M. G. "Monk" Lewis and William Beckford, the "Caliph of Fonthill," were intimitely bound up with the fictional works that had first brought them notoriety. The development culminates in the early nineteenth century with the Byronic hero—a creation whose defining feature is the capacity for being identified with Byron himself, and for behaving in a way that one can recognize from Byron's personal life. But the centrality of character, of "personality" per se in *Tristram Shandy* is unprecedented.

More needs to be said however, about why Sterne and Garrick were able to captivate their respective publics as they did. What accounts for the attractiveness of the public images that these two men were so skillful at manipulating? For an answer we need to look, I think, to the growing appeal during the middle of the eighteenth century of "natural" acting on stage and what I assert is its literary equivalent, "sensibility." In different settings, Sterne and Garrick were perceived by their respective publics as breaking

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

new ground: they both appeared, in a richly detailed way, to be recovering authentic emotions either on stage or in the pages of *Tristram Shandy*.

Garrick and Charles Macklin were the central figures in what has come to be known as the Acting Revolution, a transformation in acting style so radical that it dominated discussions of theater during the middle decades of the century, and prompted a widespread interest in the theory of acting.[12] By all contemporary accounts, Garrick's charisma on the stage derived from his ability to represent emotions in a way that audiences perceived as lifelike. Virtually all of his peers appeared by contrast to be declaiming. Persuasive acting during this revolutionary period, in other words, came to depend on the comingling of real emotions and those portrayed on stage, a relationship that worked to minimize obvious artifice. This association informs the oratorical revival as well. Thomas Sheridan, in his *Lectures on Elocution*, concludes a chapter on delivery by asserting:

> The chief aim of all public speakers is to persuade, and in order to persuade, it is above all things necessary that the speaker should at least appear himself to believe what he utters, but this can never be the case where there are any evident marks of affectation, or art. (Taylor 55)

Manuals on acting urged students to investigate the range of emotions as they had experienced them, and to draw from that archive when performing on stage. The emphasis, to be sure, was on simulating rather than reliving emotional responses—extensive practice before mirrors was highly recommended. Johnson and others regularly observed that while Garrick represented convincingly rage, sorrow, and so on, he felt nothing himself while doing so. But the very need to make such an observation suggests that, by midcentury, acting and feeling stood in closer proximity than they had in previous generations of the London stage. Indeed, the possibility that the great actors of the previous century—Thomas Betterton or Elizabeth Barry, for example—might have been feeling what they represented would not have been conceivable to a Restoration audience—the emotional distance between the actor and the performance seemed, to those audiences, to be greater.

The analogue to the Acting Revolution in letters is the rise of the kind of fiction that *Tristram Shandy* prefigures. Sterne, like

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Garrick, captured his audiences by appearing to tap his own real emotions, and he aroused their suspicions as well, that no emotions so extensively chronicled and so widely published could possibly be heartfelt. *Tristram Shandy* straddles the boundary between "natural character" and "personality" that Richard Sennett uses to distinguish eighteenth-century psychology from that of the nineteenth century. Natural character presumes that the range of human emotions is universal and unchanging, that it can be encompassed through "variations in rage, compassion, or trust." Personality, by contrast, is self-conscious and individual, and requires chiefly "the capacity to 'recover' one's emotions" (152). A work such as *Tristram Shandy* invites a universal reaction, particularly to its sentimental episodes; one's readiness to shed a tear at the appropriate moments is evidence of that person's sensibility and defines him or her as an ideal reader. And yet *Tristram Shandy* was unprecedented and unsurpassed in its recovery of one person's emotions. Beginning as it does with Tristram's conception, the book describes an inner life in a way that is radically different from that found in the myriad of novels bearing the title "The History of. . . ." And in a way very different from Pamela or Clarissa, private correspondences deemed instructive by their "editor," *Tristram Shandy* promotes its hero's inner life shamelessly.

Sterne and Garrick then, bear similarities that are crucial to the developments that I wish to illustrate. Both revolutionized the artist's relationship with an emergent mass audience. At a time when the affective power of theater seemed in danger of eroding, Garrick reenergized it by psychologizing the function of the actor, by redirecting the audiences' focus to the vibrant and emotionally integrated individual before them. A generation later, Sterne redirected the thriving cultural practice of fiction-writing in precisely the same way, by intertwining his own identity with that of his characters and presenting the undifferentiated amalgam to the public. And Sterne's initial dreams of a career in literature boosted by a patron were thereby transformed and modernized.

Sterne's public and thoroughgoing identification with his characters predictably played itself out in the reception of the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy*. In a letter from an unidentified correspondent to the *Grand Magazine*, entitled, "Animadversions on *Tristram Shandy*," the writer lingers on "Shandy's" physical appearance:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I am one of the jolly sons of Comus, and that we are all in raptures with his facetious disciple, that paragon of mirth and humour, *Tristram Shandy*. We are firmly persuaded, with friend Tristy, that every time a man smiles, but more so when he laughs, it adds something to this fragment of life. This being the case, we pronounce Tristy the best physician [in] the world, for there is no reading him without laughing; nay the very sight of him is reviving—for his long sharp nose, and his droll look altogether, affect our risible faculties so strongly, that there is no looking at him without laughing. (cited in Howes, *Critical Heritage* 64)

In the months that followed his initial correspondence with Garrick however, Sterne would come to gauge his reputation by more broadly based, thoroughly normalized indexes such as imitations, pamphlet attacks, and the judgment of the critical institution he had so confounded, the Reviews. That transition, from patron to general public, was for Sterne an uncertain and uncomfortable one, though his revised understanding of his reading public had, I believe, a decisive influence on the choices he made throughout the rest of his novelistic career. In a material sense, the large, shadowy, untitled audience whose presence made itself felt in the form of imitations, book sales, and (so it was suspected) reviews, won out. Sterne spent the latter part of his career trying to discern and please their tastes, going so far as to interrupt *Tristram Shandy* and write *A Sentimental Journey* at the behest of the *Monthly Review* (Putney). In another, perhaps less firmly grounded sense however, this author who had grown up in the age of "your Popes and Swifts" could detect the hollowness or incapacity of the mass audience to a degree that later writers, or those contemporaries who were adamantly professional (such as Samuel Johnson and Tobias Smollett), could not. That Sterne was sustaining the dream of being included through patronage, in an aristocratic circle, while at the same time depending on the emerging free market, attests to the power of the fantasy, but points as well to a crisis felt in an especially acute way by mid and later eighteenth-century British writers, a crisis brought about by the transformation of cultural discourse into commodities.

While there are a wide variety of possible reactions to this crisis of commodification (and I would claim that, in one way or another, all late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century writers

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

react in one way or another), Sterne's is characteristically undisguised. On the one hand, he nurtured a vision of one-to-one relationships with socially and culturally prominent readers, in which social privilege is put aside and a general accessibility is assumed; and he tried to cultivate such relationships throughout his literary career. On the other hand, Sterne's presentation of himself as Tristram to Garrick underscores the difference between their relationship and the ideal model of Renaissance aristocratic patron and author. The difference indicates how powerful were the changes in the literary economy, and the general movement towards commodification of all cultural objects that worked against Sterne's nostalgic fantasy. He introduced himself to Garrick in a way that anticipated a product-consumer relationship, not the social bond between individuals that Sterne idealized and believed was the norm in an earlier age. His sense that Tristram and the Shandean style were commodities—detachable both from his book and from his own identity, and manipulable in a commercial economy—reveals a distinctly modern understanding of cultural discourse.

A final note: I have spoken of Sterne's "decisions" and even "strategies" in his efforts to obtain Garrick's patronage. It may be objected that in describing Sterne's behavior as consistently self-conscious I have made him out to be a marketing genius, and ascribed to him an understanding of the nuances of advanced capitalism that is uncorroborated by his letters and biography. To this I would answer that the extent of Sterne's entrepreneurial awareness and premeditation is ambiguous precisely because his career is situated at the threshold of a new conception of authorship, one in which a considerable degree of business acumen and the assumption that literary works—like all cultural objects—are commodities, are more or less part of the job. Thus Sterne's vow, "I shall make the most of myself & sell both inside and out," can be both sophisticated and naive, both an astounding confession and something that goes without saying.

NOTES

1. Curtis 305, hereafter cited in the text as *Letters*. I have supplied the dates of particular letters where available.
2. Paul Korshin states that "royal and noble patronage of literature, especially in the form of direct support or appointments to government posts, was not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

much greater in the eighteenth century than it had been in the Renaissance. It became relatively insignificant because the writing population grew so enormously while Court and Crown influence remained relatively stable" (463). For an argument that these changes were underway before the eighteenth century, see Lindenbaum. Griffin offers an interesting discussion of Swift as a transitional figure.

3. *Ramblers* 27, 91 (a parable), and 163 treat patronage skeptically, while 21 refers to it as an outmoded system. The majority of Johnson's essays that treat the subject consider the author primarily as an agent in a free market. See also *Ramblers* 10, 16, 23, 145, 146, 176; *Idlers* 115, 137; and *Adventurers* 55, 102.
4. For an enlightening discussion of Ralph in the context of eighteenth-century ideologies of authorship, see Zionkowski.
5. Although several scholars have observed a stylistic continuity between Laurence Sterne's early writings and his two novels, the relationship between his sequential careers as clergyman and writer of fiction remains a problem. Some choose simply to ignore his entanglement in Anglican party politics; others view his difficulties in advancing in the Church hierarchy as a kind of fortunate fall. Indeed, Wilbur Cross, in a 1925 biography, sees Sterne's whole life in these naive terms, going so far as to claim about his attempts to farm an estate he purchased in 1744: "fortunately for literature, his land projects . . . issued in miserable failure" (163). Even Arthur Cash, in what will remain the standard biography of Sterne for many years to come, does not directly address this relationship, but instead cites approvingly an anonymous letter of 1759 which claims that it was to the failure of *A Political Romance* (Sterne's last clerical polemic) "that the World is indebted for *Tristram Shandy*" (*Early and Middle Years* 277). The relationship between *A Political Romance* and *Tristram Shandy* is discussed by Howes ("Two Kinds of Laughter" 46) and New (96).
6. Holmes includes an invaluable bibliographical note (297–302) that surveys the scholarship on the clergy as a profession. The most useful entries for my purposes are Sykes, O'Day, and Pruett.
7. Addison 1: 89. Editor Donald F. Bond explains, "the meaning is, that if the clergy followed the example of landowners and cut up their glebes and tithes into forty-shilling freeholds (the requirement for voting) they could control most of the elections" (n. 3).
8. For discussions of Garrick as a patron and stage manager, see Fitzgerald 1: 327–437; Kendall 49–72; and Stone and Kahrl passim. See also Hafter.
9. For an account of the revisions, see Cash, *Early and Middle Years* 278–97.
10. Sterne employed the same strategy while striking a slightly different pose in his dedication of Tristram Shandy to William Pitt. In the dedication, which appears for the first time in the second, London edition of volumes one and two, Sterne presents himself as a simple, humble clergyman, who has written his book "in a bye corner of the kingdom, and in a retired thatch' house," with none of the pretensions to urbane wit that he advertises for his London audience (the New and New edition of *Tristram Shandy*; all further references will be to this edition, and will be included in the text.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

11. Johnson continues, "He found people always ready to applaud him, and that always for the same thing."

12. This development is only now beginning to receive a great deal of critical attention. Nicoll 1–19 is a useful starting point. Important recent studies include Woods 29–53, 127–152; West; and Straub.

WORKS CITED

Addison, Joseph. *The Spectator.* Ed. Donald F. Bond. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

Belanger, Terry. "Publishers and Writers in Eighteenth-Century England." *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England.* Ed. Isabel Rivers. New York: St. Martin's, 1982. 5–23.

Boswell, James. *The Life of Samuel Johnson.* Ed. George Birkbeck Hill. New York: Bigelow, Brown & Co., 1900.

Briggs, Peter M. "Laurence Sterne and Literary Celebrity in 1760." *The Age of Johnson.* Ed. Paul Korshin. 4 (1991): 251–80.

Cash, Arthur. *Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years.* London: Methuen, 1975.

———. *Laurence Sterne: The Later Years.* London: Methuen, 1986.

Cross, Wilbur. *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1925.

Curtis, Lewis P., ed. *Letters of Laurence Sterne.* London: Oxford UP, 1935.

Fitzgerald, Percy. *The Life of David Garrick.* London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868.

Griffin, Dustin. "Swift and Patronage." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 21 (1991): 197–205.

Hafter, Ronald. "Garrick and *Tristam Shandy.*" *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 7 (1967): 475–89.

Hill, Dr. John. "A Letter to the Ladies Magazine." *Royal Female Magazine* April 1760. Rpt. in *The Works and Life of Laurence Sterne.* Ed. Wilbur L. Cross. New York: J. F. Taylor, 1904. 6: 33.

Hilles, Frederick W., ed. *Portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1952.

Holmes, Geoffrey. *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730.* London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982.

Howes, Alan B. *Laurence Sterne, The Critical Heritage.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.

———. "Laurence Sterne, Rabelais, and Cervantes: The Two Kinds of Laughter in Tristam Shandy." *Laurence Sterne: Riddles and Mysteries.* Ed. Valerie Grosvenor Myer. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1984. 39–56.

Kendall, Alan. *David Garrick.* New York: St. Martin's, 1985.

Korshin, Paul. "Types of Eighteenth-Century Literary Patronage." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 7 (1973–74): 453–73.

Lindenbaum, Peter. "John Milton and the Republican Mode of Literary Production." *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1988): 121–36.

New, Melvyn. *Laurence Sterne as Satirist: A Reading of Tristam Shandy.* Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1969.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nicoll, Allardyce. *The Garrick Stage.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1980.

O'Day, Rosemary. *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession.* Leicester: Leicester UP, 1979.

Pruett, John H. "Career Patterns among the Clergy of Lincoln Cathedral, 1660–1750." *Church History* 44 (1975): 204–16.

Putney, Rufus. "The Evolution of *A Sentimental Journey.*" *Philological Quarterly* 19 (1940): 349–69.

Ralph, James. *The Case of Authors by Profession or Trade.* 1758. Gainesville: Scholars' Press, 1966.

Sennett, Richard. *The Fall of the Public Man.* New York: Knopf, 1977.

Sterne, Laurence. *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy.* Ed. Melvyn New and Joan New. Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1978.

Stone, George Winchester, and George Kahrl. *David Garrick: A Critical Biography.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1979.

Straub, Kristina. *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992.

Sykes, Norman. *Church and State in England in the 18th Century.* London: Cambridge UP, 1934.

Taylor, George. "'The Just Deliberation of the Passions': Theories of Acting in the Age of Garrick." *Essays on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage.* Ed. Kenneth Richards and Peter Thomson. London: Methuen, 1971. 51–72.

West, Shearer. *The Image of the Actor: Verbal and Visual Representation in the Age of Garrick and Kemble.* London: Pinter, 1991.

Woods, Leigh. *Garrick Claims the Stage: Acting as Social Emblem.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984.

Zionkowski, Linda. "Territorial Disputes in the Republic of Letters: Canon Formation and the Literary Profession." *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 31 (1990): 3–22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RICHARD L. WARMS

Africa Real, Africa Ideal: A. Gordon Laing and the Noble Savage

A. Gordon Laing was an early and important explorer in Africa, and one of a handful of Englishmen to write extensively on travel in West Africa in the early years of the nineteenth century. His book *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolimas Countries in Western Africa* (1825), along with Mungo Park's (1816) book of travels, helped form general European opinion of Africa. Though there were a few additional descriptions of other regions of West Africa at the time—John Matthews' work is notable—Laing's book is significant because it was the first description by a modern European of inland Sierra Leone.

Well written and richly detailed, the book's interest is further enhanced by the author's later fame. In 1825, the year his book of travels appeared, Laing became the first modern European to visit Timbuktu. He was killed shortly after he left the city, and controversy between French and British authorities over the whereabouts of his journals continued until the early years of this century, keeping him and his travels very much in the public eye (Mezieres, Monod).

Laing, and his work, also served as a model for Winwood Reade, a mid-nineteenth century traveler and author. His *African Sketchbooks* (1873) and *Savage Africa* (1864) were narratives of travel and short stories and were widely read in Victorian England. Reade longed to be considered a scientist and explorer and believed that he was Laing's successor (Hammond and Jablow 66–73).[1]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Recent scholarship in anthropology and literary criticism has focused on the portrayal of the other in cultural texts. Clifford and Marcus, Rosaldo, and others have written extensively on the ways in which the positioning of the observer and the act of authorship influence the production of written ethnographic descriptions. Said, Brettell, and Jones point to the importance of the background, education, and motivation of the author in interpreting and analyzing texts. Smith, Bartels, and Nichols have discussed some of these issues as they specifically relate to the literature of African exploration. Blake and Nixon analyze more recent European writing about Africa.

Stocking reminds us that nineteenth century anthropologists depended critically on the work of explorers and travelers for their data. Conversely, Louch has claimed that monographs by professional anthropological field-workers are little more than traveler's tales. Consequently, the analysis of travel literature and the relationship between explorers' narratives and ethnographic writing is an emerging area of importance for anthropologists and ethnohistorians (Brettell).

Laing's work contains rich descriptions of the areas and peoples he visited. However, as George and Constantine have suggested, travelers and explorers frequently focus on those aspects of culture that best fit their own conceptual models. Noakes (141) further notes that travel narratives are works of rhetoric that aim to persuade their readers of certain things about the places and peoples they describe.

I contend that the vision of Africa Laing presents in *Travels in the Timanee* was critically affected by two factors: his abolitionist politics and his romantic naturalism. The latter was probably conditioned by his understanding of the prevalent philosophies of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century France and England, and particularly by the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

While it is written as a work of travel and discovery, *Travels in the Timanee* is also a powerful abolitionist statement. Laing sets out, he says, to discover the source of the Niger. What he ultimately discovers is the noble savage. Laing's work is important for an understanding of West Africa's history. It is also an example of the ways in which explorers' observations are systematically distorted by their home cultures.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LAING, ROUSSEAU, AND SLAVERY: PRECONCEPTIONS

Laing was born in 1794. His grandfather was a Scottish educator and the author of numerous books; his father, an Edinburgh schoolmaster with his own well-respected private academy. His father intended that Laing succeed him, and educated him with this in mind. Laing excelled at Latin and became a star pupil at Edinburgh University. Upon graduation he became a schoolmaster, at Newcastle. However, he lasted only six months in this position. Laing returned to Edinburgh and became the head of the commercial department of his father's academy, where he remained for two years before leaving to join the military in Barbados (Chambers 336). This background made Laing one of the best-educated explorers of his generation (Bovill, "Letters"; Gardner).

Given his background, Laing was almost certainly exposed to the concept of the noble savage. The idea of the noble savage has great antiquity in Western culture and the search for him has played a large role in the Western imagination. Fairchild (5) traces the noble savage at least as far back as Tacitus' *Germania*. Baudet (10–11) traces the idea even further—to the Garden of Eden. In eighteenth century Europe, written reports of voyages of discovery, as well as current political and economic issues, made ideas of the noble savage particularly powerful (Fairchild 97, Ellenburg).

While Rousseau never used the term noble savage, he is the philosopher most associated with the idea. The concepts of freedom, nature, and primitive man all play important roles in his writings, which were voluminous and widely read. Because of this, intellectuals after Rousseau often saw the noble savage through the prism of popular interpretation of his writings.[2]

In the absence of a written autobiographical statement, it cannot be proven that Laing was particularly influenced by Rousseau. However, as a liberally educated "thinking man" Laing was most likely exposed to Rousseau's writing and other French philosophical thought. Brereton notes the importance of French philosophy during these years: "For the first time since the Renaissance (and no doubt the last) it was possible to say of one country that she set the tone for the civilized world" (vii). Since Laing could read French, he could well have read the works of Rousseau and other eighteenth century French philosophers in the original.[3]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rousseau saw man as the perfectible animal. In an early time, before society, man was a savage, ennobled by independence and natural compassion (Lemos 21, 28). Though Rousseau's savage was noble, in the earliest times he was also non-social. He existed by himself, without family, emotional love, or even speech (Ellenburg 65–66). As he began to acquire society, he was corrupted. Jealousies and intrapersonal tensions vied with nobility, and eventually the latter was extinguished.

Nevertheless, Rousseau saw the earliest national communities, when families were economically self-sufficient, as enjoying the happiest and most stable of times (Ellenburg 77). Because of this, primitive societies existing in the world at Rousseau's time played an important role in his philosophy, and in the popular image of that philosophy. They were its proving grounds. According to this line of thought, primitive societies were closer to nature, and as a result their members were morally superior to at least some Europeans. The meager traveler's accounts that did exist tended to confirm this image, picturing members of such societies as happy and virtuous (Brereton xii).

Anyone following this reasoning would predict that societies farther away from Europeans, societies in their "natural" state, would be more noble, more reasonable, and more utopian than societies in close contact with Europeans. It would, in fact, have been important for such people to find these societies or to view the societies they visited in this light. This would uphold their view of the world, with its important ramifications for the rights of the individual and the dissolution of absolute monarchical power in Western Europe (Ellenburg 120). Explorers' journals were important in the debate about the power of European rulers. Smith has shown that much of eighteenth century travel writing about African political systems can be productively viewed as part of the European controversy over "arbitrary rule."

The ideas of slavery and liberty play important parts in Rousseau's philosophy; he saw no middle ground between the two (Ellenburg 20). No form of slavery, or indeed of any inequality between ruler and ruled, was acceptable. While some might be born to slavery, Rousseau believed it impossible for one type of people to be the natural slaves of another. Such an arrangement necessarily corrupted both slave and slaveholder. Slavery, Rousseau believed, was created by force against nature (Ellenburg

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

158). For Rousseau, an implication of this was that legitimate contractual arrangements could only be made among free people.

Laing's positions on slavery and future relations between Africa and Britain were consistent with this reading of Rousseau. Laing was a staunch abolitionist. He did not believe that European slavers were only taking those people who would be slaves in their own land, or that slavery in a white country was superior to freedom in a black country. On the contrary, he saw slavery as a European-inspired plague ravaging innocent indigenous populations who would otherwise live a more or less pastoral existence. In a florid letter Laing wrote on his later mission to Timbuktu, he says:

> How long is the poor unfortunate swarthy native of Africa's interior to suffer from the galling damnable yoke of slavery. How long is he to be exposed to the most unparalleled persecutions from that fell passion—avarice—how long is filial and conjugal affection to be sported with and sacrificed at the shrine of mammon—oh grant that the retributive day is near at hand—at present the poor unhappy Negro, with the merciless Moor on one side for Scylla and the expatriating European on the other for a Charybdis may be compared to the flying fish of the deep which is exposed to the gormandising gull from above and the devouring dolphin from below. (quoted in Bovill, *Niger Explored* 248)

Both Laing and Sir Charles McCarthy, his superior officer in Sierra Leone, believed that progress could come to Africa, and Britain could profitably do business with Africa, only if the slave trade were ended. With slavery gone, a legitimate trade in agricultural commodities between free peoples could begin. Laing undertook his explorations, in part, to encourage such a trade.

This background shaped the manner in which Laing understood and reported the customs of the people he met. Laing believed that as the distance he traveled from the coast increased, the pernicious effects of both the slave trade and civilization in general diminished. As a result, people who lived inland were more noble and more humane, and more closely approximated the late eighteenth century European human ideal than those who had fallen under the corrupting influence of Western society, and particularly of the slave trade. As Laing traveled inland, his descriptions of the groups he visited became increasingly positive. Groups with less contact with Europeans were seen as more cul-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tured, industrious, and civilized than groups with more contact with Europeans.

Laing's preconceptions might have been compounded by an additional bit of European folklore. Based on their reading of Genesis, Europeans frequently believed that paradise was located at the source of the Nile (Baudet 15). In the wake of Park's discovery that the Niger flowed east, some geographers hypothesized that the Niger and the Nile were the same river (Gramont). If that were correct, perhaps paradise was located at the source of the Niger. Ironically, the principal scientific advance made by Laing's trip was to show that the Niger could not be connected to the Nile: its source did not have sufficient elevation.

It must be emphasized that Laing believed that natives were corrupted by civilization because they were in contact with the wrong kind of Europeans, mostly those corrupted by their involvement in the slave trade. Once Africans were freed of the slave trade, Laing believed that there were potential benefits from contact with the right kind of European: the emerging, enlightened, British gentleman, such as Laing himself.

West Africa Through Laing's Eyes

Laing undertook the journey that forms the basis for his book in 1822 at the behest of the governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Charles McCarthy. At the time, Laing was a young and rising British officer. He had started his military career in the West Indies, and soon acquired a commission as an ensign in the York Light Infantry. In 1819, after a stay in England caused by sickness, Laing was promoted to Lieutenant and sent to Sierra Leone as McCarthy's aide de camp (Bovill, "Letters"; Mezieres).

In this position, he proved himself effective in settling claims among the indigenous population. He was also very interested in the exploration of the interior. For these reasons, McCarthy chose him for a series of inland missions in 1822. On the first of these missions, Laing was instructed "to ascertain the state of the country, the disposition of the inhabitants to trade and industry, and to know their sentiments and conduct as to the abolition of the slave trade" (Bovill, "Letters" 133). Laing's first two missions were short. *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko and Soolimas Countries in Western Africa* is written about his third mission.

The first people that Laing visited were the Timanee. They were the group closest to the coast and lived in contact with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Europeans. Laing saw them as debased and corrupt. According to Laing, the Timanee spent much of their time on superstitious customs and were expert at using (or sometimes misusing) these customs to cheat Laing and his party. They were constantly embroiled in petty disputes and fights during their passage through Timanee (84–91).

Laing found that the prevailing social custom of the country was

> intoxication, by indulging to excess in copious potations of palm wine; indeed to such an extent do they, on all occasions, carry this odious practice that the strongest men soon manifest its relaxing effects, and many become afflicted at an early age with diseases produced by it. (102)

In addition to their social customs, which Laing found appalling, he had little good to say about their industry or level of technology, some of the hallmarks of civilization for the nineteenth century Englishman. "They have no trades among them," he wrote, "their houses . . . are neither commodious or neat. Their agricultural implements are certainly the simplest as well as the rudest that I have ever beheld" (103). Laing ends his exposition on Timanee manners and customs with a solid (and very British) condemnation:

> I might describe the Timanees as a very inhospitable race. . . . I regret that I have little to offer in their defense which may support them in [the reader's] estimation. They are depraved, licentious, indolent, and avaricious. The character of a Timanee man is almost proverbial in Western Africa for knavery and indisposition to honest labor and that of a Timanee woman for dishonesty. (105,109)

Laing attributed much of the degradation of the Timanee to a secret society called the Purrah (poro), "an institution much dreaded in the whole of this unhappy country" (92). According to Laing, the Purrah sowed dissent and disharmony among the population by acts of violence against society. This presented a serious obstacle to any cultural advance. Laing believed that the Purrah originated in slavery—first as a means of escaping slave raiders and later as a means of obtaining slaves to sell to Europeans.

Thus, though some of the Timanee may have gained a modicum of civilization from their contact with "enlightened" Europeans and the European-sponsored blacks of the Sierra Leone

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

colony, the negative consequences of that contact far outweighed any of the benefits (Laing 78–79). The overwhelming majority had been corrupted by the Europeans rather than profiting from their example. One does get the feeling that Laing considered them humans, but only humans of the most minimal sort.

The next people that Laing encountered and described in detail are the Kooranko. These people lived farther inland than the Timanee. Because of this, they had less contact with Europeans, and accordingly Laing saw them in a considerably better light. Their king, for example, was described as "a man of considerable property and influence" (195).[4]

Laing spent some time discussing various aspects of Kooranko technology and culture. He found that the Kooranko were "great proficients in the art of hair dressing," and that "their manner of spinning . . . cotton into thread is ingenious and simple" (201). Later Laing tells us that "the Kooranko cultivate much more ground than the Timanees, and are in every respect a more industrious and superior people" (199, 201, 205).

However, even given this praise, ultimately Laing did not think much of them. He found them to be disorganized and unsophisticated, their society to be held together by the barest patchwork of custom. "Their laws," he notes, "are few and very inartificial . . . the injury done to society [by a murder] is a matter, as yet, unthought of by them" (208). Often Laing found their behavior strange and inappropriate to circumstance; in all manner unfitting a noble and civilized people:

> [the returning warriors] gave way to such lawless mirth and committed acts of such extravagance that a spectator who only knew that they come from battle must have attributed their actions to the pride of success and victory, not to the shame of defeat and the ignominy of flight. (185–86)

But perhaps the Kooranko's greatest failing (in Laing's eyes) was their lack of knowledge of subjects interesting to Laing (or their unwillingness to provide him with information, a possibility that does not seem to have occurred to him). The chapter Laing devotes to Kooranko customs is shorter than either of the corresponding sections on the Timanee or the Soolimas. For this brevity, Laing apologized to his readers but reported that he found little else to say and that the Kooranko's "ignorance on every subject of either local interest or history prevented me from gaining much by inquiry" (210).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is clear that Laing saw the Kooranko as nobler and more civilized than the Timanee. In his chapter on the Kooranko one finds none of the outright condemnation that is present in the chapter on the Timanee. However, the Kooranko were still corrupt. Neither their behavior nor the state of their civilization, as Laing saw it, were worthy of approbation. This state of semi-grace, partial nobility, is precisely what one would expect of them, situated as they were, halfway between the coastal peoples whom Laing deemed most corrupt, and the last, farthest inland group Laing visited.

This final group considered by Laing is the Soolimas. These people were farthest inland and were, Laing thought, virtually uncorrupted by contact with Europeans. Laing devoted much of the second half of his book to describing their customs and his stay among them. With the Soolimas, Laing found his quasi-utopian African society. He considered them by far the most sophisticated and civilized people he had met, and his description is largely in praise of their customs. This praise even extended to the country, which he found "picturesque in the extreme" (347).

Laing described the town of Falaba, the Soolimas capital, as being "of an oblong shape containing about 4000 circular houses or huts which, though built of clay and covered with pyramidal roofs of thatch, are extremely neat, clean, and in many instances, elegant" (354).

Laing found Soolimas agricultural organization to be particularly impressive: "in less than a quarter hour [the work parties] were arranged in order of work and with a degree of method which actually astonished me" (252).

The conduct of the people themselves Laing found admirable. In contrast to his descriptions of other groups we find this description of Soolima women:

> Like all other African females, they are loose in their morals, as I could perceive from the numerous palavers which were brought before the king; but I must in justice give them credit generally for a modest demeanor, for during the whole of my residence, and whilst receiving the greatest kindness at their hands, I never perceived any of the wanton looks or indecent conduct which characterizes and disgusted me with the females of other countries through which I passed. (361)

In addition to his appreciation of Soolimas women, Laing observed that the Soolimas had an equitable legal system and that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their "mode of trial appears extremely fair, assimilating nearly to our trial by jury" (365).

But Laing reserved most of his praise for the Soolima king, Assana Yeera, in whose person he had found, at last, his noble savage. In Laing's early descriptions of the king we find that he appears "a more humble character than any of his suit, being habited in a plain brown shirt, trousers, and cap" (249). Laing was immediately impressed by Yeera's generosity (Yeera gave Laing a horse and many other presents) and the fact that Yeera seemed satisfied with the presents Laing gave him. At one point Laing noted that he "could not but admire the unostentatious simplicity of this respectable chief" (307). At another he called him "as honest-hearted a man as ever existed" (269).

Though the king was a Moslem, Laing viewed him as liberal, free from the "usual bigotry of Mohametans" (377). He was respectful of Laing as a stranger from a radically different culture, and cut short speeches at his court because he knew that Europeans did not like to sit and listen to long palavers (257).

Additionally, as the noble savage should, the king knew reason when he heard it and was impressed by Laing's efforts to convince him to end his participation in the slave trade (which was minimal by comparison to that of the Timanee and Kooranko):

> Strong as were the king's prepossessions in favor of war as being the constant practice of his forefathers whose steps he considered himself bound to follow, he would nevertheless lend an attentive ear when I endeavored to point out the advantages he might derive from legitimate and honest trade. (379)

Later, Laing notes:

> the *strong natural understanding and reflective habits* of the king enabled him generally to comprehend and often to an extent which surprised me, the advantages of a state of society and policy of government with which his only acquaintance could be from the representations which I was able to make. (383) [emphasis mine]

Ultimately, Laing saw the future of the Soolimas as tied to the person of the king: "Encouraged by the friendship and aided by the advice of a British governor . . . the few remaining years of Assana Yeera might be sufficient to give a permanent impulse to the civilization and true prosperity of his country" (396). Above all this, perhaps the most extreme praise of the Soolimas as a group is Laing's comparison of them and ancient Rome: "Having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been struck by the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of Ancient Rome I was induced to note them down from time to time in my memorandum book" (361). Laing pointed out thirteen similarities, including comparisons of the palaver house to a Roman forum and Sooliman to Roman oratory practices and styles. He said that he drew no conclusions from the similarities, but the implication is clear. The Soolimas are a civilization similar in terms of dignity of manner and moral strength to ancient Rome (and Laing is clearly thinking about the positive aspects of ancient Rome). Further, the Soolima civilization developed in Africa, according to natural laws, apart from the corrupting influence of Europeans. As a well-educated man of his time (and a man interested in education), Laing would have expected to find exactly this. In fact, he had gone searching for it.

DISCUSSION

The quotations presented above illustrate a progression in Laing's descriptions of the groups he met. As he moved inland, descriptions became more positive and individuals more closely approximated the noble savage. Laing himself was not unaware of the progression in his opinions. He wrote that corresponding with the fact that the slave trade's effects are greatest near the coast "is the progressive improvement in the social and industrious habits of the population which is witnessed by the traveler in advancing from the coast towards the interior of any of the great rivers which were formerly distinguished as stations for the trade in slaves" (106–107).

In addition to the progression shown in his book of travels, two factors suggest the influence of Rousseau and romantic naturalism. First, Laing was trained as a schoolmaster and came from a family of schoolmasters. It would be unusual if he were not acquainted with such an important and controversial educational work as Rousseau's *Emile*, with its dictum that the first impulses of nature are always right (Rolland 63), or with other works of similar philosophy.

A second factor is Laing's personality. Even as a member of the army, he was a wayward and arrogant individualist (Bovill, *Niger Explored* 149). He had a reputation as an intellectual and earned the disapprobation of his fellow officers by attempting to go over the heads of his superiors in seeking promotion to higher office (Bovill, "Letters" 135–38). Gardner writes:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> Laing was not popular with his fellow officers . . . [he] was determined, opinionated, proud, touchy and ambitious. He edited a newspaper in Sierra Leone which, according to the acting Governor, was "filled with the most fulsome panegyrics upon himself in prose and rhyme." He was very concerned about his rank . . . [and] was not slow to point out that he considered his services in West Africa entitled him to the rank of major. (54)

Evidently, Laing was not much more popular with the people among whom he traveled. On his later trip to Timbuktu he was robbed, and after his visit to that city, murdered. Though he had been traveling in native costume (the custom of the time), on his arrival in Timbuktu he immediately reverted to European dress. This was typical of his manner and probably did little to increase his life expectancy (Gardner 99).

While one cannot argue that any individualist owes his individualism to a close reading of Rousseau, this kind of behavior (a disrespect for the established chain of command and an emphasis on individual merit) would be consistent with someone interested in Rousseau's philosophy.

Ultimately, Laing's book itself is the most coherent argument for Rousseau's influence, since it was not necessary or inevitable that Laing see a progression in savage nobility as he moved inland. Societies near the coast clearly had many admirable traits, noted by other travelers including Park and Matthews. Inland societies certainly had traits that Europeans might find less than laudable. Ironically for Laing, these generally included substantial use of slave labor (Roberts). Laing chose to emphasize those characteristics of the people he met that demonstrated the progression from meanness to nobility.

Other writers of the same era did not find the same systematic variance and viewed the groups they met in a different way. Mungo Park, who in the last years of the eighteenth century traveled in the area somewhat to the north of that visited by Laing, had this to say about the first group he met, the group nearest the coast:

> I cannot, however, take leave of the Wooli without observing that I was everywhere well received by the natives and that the fatigues of the day were generally alleviated by a hearty welcome at night and although the African mode of living was at first unpleasant to me, yet I found at length, that custom surmounted trifling inconveniences and made everything palatable and easy. (65)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Park also noted the differences among the various peoples he visited and noted that inland states were larger and more highly organized than those on the coast. Though Fairchild (118–20) credits Park with contributing to the image of the noble savage, Brahimi (153) argues that he did not idealize the primitive.[5] In Park's work there is none of the high moral praise for inland peoples nor the deprecation of coastal peoples that is a constant in Laing's work. In fact, Park seems to prefer the hospitality of the coastal people.

Park was from a different type of background than Laing. His father was a farmer, and although he was educated as a surgeon and did spend some time at Edinburgh University, he did not have Laing's educational background. Laing considered Park an adventurer rather than an explorer, and additionally, something less than a gentleman (Bovill, "Letters" 154).

Another example of the differences between the way Laing and others viewed what they observed is their attitudes toward the Purrah society among the Timanee. As noted above, Laing saw this as a much feared, slavery-based, secret society and the cause of much needless unhappiness. Lieutenant John Matthews, an officer in Sierra Leone between 1785 and 1787, wrote of the Purrah that "this wise political institution is disseminated throughout the country for the purpose of putting an end to disputes and war" (Little 352).

Thus, it was not a general perception that societies at the coast were corrupt and those farther inland superior. While there was undoubtedly considerable reality in Laing's descriptions, it seems likely that the prism through which he viewed the people he visited had a very considerable effect on his opinions of those people and the descriptions he gives us of them.

Laing's tendency to see the distant as more perfect was very apparent on his later voyage to Timbuktu. His letters do not describe Timbuktu, but they do suggest his impressions of it. He wrote that "in every respect except size (which does not exceed four miles in circumference) [the city] has completely met my expectations" (quoted in Gramont 149). Since he went anticipating a town of great wealth, a city of gold, his expectations were high indeed.[6] René Caillé, who visited the same city about nine months after Laing, saw it very differently. He wrote: "The idea I had formed of the city's greatness and wealth hardly corre-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sponded to what I saw, a cluster of dirt houses, surrounded by arid plains of yellow-white sand" (Gramont 156).[7]

Laing is a complex individual and his ideas are not a simple acceptance and application of Rousseau's philosophy. In his work, the theme of increasing nobility as one moves away from contact with Europeans is overlaid with an abiding belief in the potential benefits of trade between Africans and "good" Europeans. Ultimately, Laing believed strongly in the superiority of his own society. The presence of these two conflicting ideas—the noble savage and the superior Englishman—is what one would expect from an educated man in 1825, an age poised between the idealism of the eighteenth century and the materialism of the nineteenth.

Perhaps we should not be too hard on Laing and his idealization of Africa and Africans, since as Brereton says of the idea of the noble savage:

> it does credit to the minds which conceived it. There was perhaps more humility and humanity in them than in the 17th century mind which tended to dismiss as barbarous any who did not share its culture, or in the 19th century which associated all its earthly hopes with the railway station and the well equipped bathroom. (xiii)

This may be true; however, the idea of the noble savage was crucial in the construction of relationships between European colonizers and African and Asian peoples in the nineteenth century. It frequently formed an ideological cornerstone of European domination (Bouysse-Cassagne et al.) and continues to be a destructive part of the Western stereotype of Africa (Southall).

Mudimbe-Boyi has noted that "Western discourse, in its rudimentary state, is in reality a projection; it creates, invents, and orders everything in terms of itself" (31). Laing's work provides a reminder that the tradition of the noble savage is based in European ideology rather than African ethnology. History and ethnographic description cannot be understood apart from the people who write it, their society, and their particular vision of the way the world is or is supposed to be. We are no less victims of our education today than people were in Laing's time.

NOTES

1. Hammond and Jablow note that Laing, whom they describe as modest and dedicated, was a strange role model for Reade, whom they describe as self-promoting and flamboyant (72). They misunderstand Laing's per-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sonality. There is ample evidence that Laing was overtly self-promoting (Bovill, *Niger Explored*; Gardner). Certainly at the end of his life he had the paranoid delusion that it was his unique destiny to discover Timbuktu. In his letters he wrote that if he did not discover Timbuktu "the world will ever remain in ignorance of the place, as I make no vainglorious assertion when I say that it will never be visited by Christian man after me. . . . I shall do more than has ever been done before and shall show myself to be what I have ever considered myself, a man of enterprise and genius" (Gramont 145).

2. Fairchild (120–39) interprets the savage in Rousseau as considerably less than noble. However, she notes that popular interpretation, particularly in England, sentimentalized Rousseau and tended to see him as "the father of all romantic absurdities" (139).

3. As for Laing's linguistic abilities, Chambers notes that he was extremely proficient in Latin, and Bovill reports that he became fluent in Mende while in Sierra Leone and studied Arabic on his later journey to Timbuktu. My assertion that he read French is based on references in his letters to having read French journals (Bovill, "Letters" 350).

4. Nichols notes that "In the accounts of most early African explorers, the only people described as individuals tend to be kings and royalty" (7). This is certainly true of Laing's descriptions.

5. Brahimi sees Park as an exemplar of eighteenth century objectivity. She writes: "l'esprite scientifique du 18eme siècle . . . consiste . . . en une attitude mentale . . . il s'agit de s'exercer a dépasser toutes les formes de la réaction immédiate, subjective, pour viser à l'objectivité. De cette attitude et de cette volunté, Mungo Park ne cese de donner l'example" (153).

6. The aftermath of Laing's trip to Timbuktu provides an ironic ending to the story of Laing and Rousseau. After Laing's death outside of Timbuktu, his letters and journals were sent back to the British Consul, Colonel Hanmer Warrington, in Tripoli. The letters were received but the journals never arrived. Shortly afterwards, the French Consul, Baron Jean-Baptiste-Louis Rousseau, also known as Joseph Rousseau, an Orientalist and book collector, announced that he would publish a new history of Timbuktu. Warrington, who was Laing's father-in-law, accused Rousseau of having come into the possession of Laing's papers through foul play. Rousseau denied any connection with the papers and a diplomatic row followed. A commission of inquiry found the charges against Rousseau to be without foundation. However, many people believed the commission's finding was specious and suspicions remained. Many of Rousseau's papers were destroyed by seawater when they were shipped from Tripoli to Marseille. The Laing journals might have been among these. That Jean-Jacques and Joseph share the same family name is no accident. They were distant relations. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was Joseph Rousseau's great-grandfather's brother's grandson. See Monod for additional detail on these subjects.

7. Caillé's description of the city is generally considered accurate. Timbuktu had been a great gold trading center. However, by the nineteenth century its wealth had diminished and it was an adobe town of no particular wealth. It certainly was not impressive by European standards. Laing reached

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Timbuktu after a lengthy and arduous crossing of the desert. During the trip he was gravely wounded. He suffered disease, the death of his companions, and many other misfortunes. As he came nearer to Timbuktu, his letters became increasingly paranoid. It is possible that by the time he reached Timbuktu, he was not entirely sane. I suggest that his insanity exacerbated his tendency to view the distant as more perfect.

WORKS CITED

Bartels, Emily C. "Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa." *Criticism* 34.4 (1992): 517–38.

Baudet, E. H. P. *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts On European Images of Non-European Man.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1965.

Blake, Susan L. "Travel and Literature: The Liberian Narratives of Esther Warner and Graham Greene." *Research in African Literatures* 22 (1991): 191–203.

Bouysse-Cassagne, Therese, Thomas Gomez, and Jean Pierre Lavaud. "L'Indien Pretexte." *Raison-Presente* 69 (1984): 27–41.

Bovill, E. W. *The Niger Explored.* London: Oxford UP, 1968.

Bovill, E. W., ed. "The Letters of Major Alexander Gordon Laing." *Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society.* 2nd Series, No. 123 (1964): 124–391.

Brahimi, Denise. "Mungo Park en Afrique Ou L'Explorateur Exploré." *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 22 (1990): 149–58.

Brereton, Geoffrey. "Introduction." *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* Ed. Romain Rolland, Andre Maurois, and Edouard Herriot. London: Cassell, 1953. vii–xxiii.

Brettell, Caroline. "Introduction: Travel Literature, Ethnography, and Ethnohistory." *Ethnohistory* 33.2 (1986): 127–38.

Chambers, Robert. *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen.* Vol. 3. Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1835.

Clifford, James, and George Marcus. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1986.

Constantine, David. *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984.

Ellenburg, Stephen. *Rousseau's Political Philosophy: An Interpretation From Within.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976.

Fairchild, Hoxie Neale. *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism.* New York: Russell and Russell, 1961.

Gardner, Brian. *The Quest for Timbuctoo.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968.

George, Katherine. "The Civilized West Looks at Primitive Africa, 1400–1800: A Study in Ethnocentrism." *Isis* 46 (1958): 62-72.

Gramont, Sanche de. *The Strong Brown God: The Story of the Niger River.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976.

Hammond, Dorothy, and Alta Jablow. *The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing About Africa.* Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1970.

Jones, Kristine L. "Nineteenth Century British Travel Accounts of Argentina." *Ethnohistory* 33.2 (1986): 195–214.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Laing, Alexander Gordon. *Travels in the Timanee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries in Western Africa.* London: John Murray, 1825.

Lemos, Ramon M. *Rousseau's Political Philosophy: An Exposition and Interpretation.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1977.

Little, Kenneth. "The Political Functions of the Poro." *Africa* 35 (1965): 349–65.

Louch, A. R. *Explanation and Human Action.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1966.

Matthews, John, R.N. *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone, on the Coast of Africa.* London: B. White and Son, 1788.

Mezieres, Bonnel de. *Le Major A. Gordon Laing (Tombouctou 1826).* Paris, 1912.

Monod, Theo. *De Tripoli à Tombouctou: le dernier voyage de Laing 1825–1826.* Paris: Societe francais d'histoire d'outre mer, 1977.

Mudimbe-Boyi, Elisabeth. "Travel, Representation, and Difference, or How Can One Be A Parisian?" *Research in African Literatures* 23.3 (1992): 25–39.

Nichols, Ashton. "Silencing the Other: The Discourse of Domination in Nineteenth-Century Exploration Narratives." *Nineteenth Century Studies* 3 (1989): 1–22.

Nixon, Robert. "Preparations for Travel: The Naipaul Brothers' Conradian Atavism." *Research in African Literatures* 22 (1991): 177–90.

Noakes, Susan. "The Rhetoric of Travel: The French Romantic Myth of Naples." *Ethnohistory* 33.2 (1986): 13–48.

Park, Mungo. *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa performed in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797 with an account of a subsequent mission to that country in 1805 by Mungo Park, Surgeon to which is added an account of the life of Mr. Park.* London: John Murray, 1816.

Roberts, Richard. *Warriors, Merchants, Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Middle Niger Valley 1700–1914.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1987.

Rolland, Romain. "Jean-Jacques Rousseau." *French Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* Ed. Romain Rolland, Andre Maurois, and Edouard Herriot. London: Cassell, 1953. 3–129.

Rosaldo, Renato. *Culture and Truth: the remaking of social analysis.* Boston: Beacon, 1989.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile.* New York: Dutton, 1974.

Said, Edward W. "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community." *The Politics of Interpretation.* Ed. W. J. T. Mitchell. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1982.

Smith, Valvern Van Wyk. "'Arbitrary Rule' and the Eighteenth-Century Discourse of Guinea." *Ariel* 21.4 (1990): 119–37.

Southall, Aiden. "The Bankruptcy of the Warrior Tradition." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 12.1–4 (1977): 166–76.

Stocking, George. *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1983.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GEORGE M. JOHNSON

"The Caged Skylark:" A Psychobiographical Portrait of G. M. Hopkins

The melancholy I have all my life been subject to has become of late years not indeed more intense in its fits but rather more distributed, constant, and crippling.

G. M. Hopkins to Alexander Baillie, April 24, 1885

. . . There is your world within.
There rid the dragons, root out there the sin.
Your will is law in that small commonweal. . . .
G. M. Hopkins, undated verse fragment, No. 150

. . . on an age-old anvil wince and sing—
Then lull, then leave off.
G. M. Hopkins, Sonnet 65, Dublin, 1885

The poems which best represent Gerard Manley Hopkins' work nearly burst with emotion built up through the fusion of densely packed language with innovative rhythm and meter.[1] Though many prominent critics, including F. R. Leavis, J. Hillis Miller, Patricia Wolfe, and Daniel Harris agree that Hopkins expresses his most penetrating and extreme emotions in the "dark" sonnets of 1885, they do not adequately probe the biographical sources of this barely contained outburst of despair.[2] Nor do the 1970s biographies by Paddy Kitchen and Bernard Bergonzi comprise systematic psychological studies.[3]

With the recent publication of two major biographies by two well-known scholars, Robert B. Martin and Norman White, we would expect a more thorough probing of this biographical mys-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tery, but are only partially satisfied. While both excel in evoking the often dreary atmosphere of the numerous places in which Hopkins resided, neither deals systematically with what must surely be considered a major feature of Hopkins' psychology, the very real depression plaguing him throughout his life. Martin alludes to the evidence that from early adulthood "Hopkins was to establish a pattern of recurrent lethargy and hyperactivity, the cyclical ends of his own mental fragility,"[4] but towards the close of the biography Martin cautiously says that "Probably Hopkins was already deeply unbalanced mentally when he came to Dublin; whether that was a result of heredity, chemical imbalance, original sin, or childhood experience, we can hardly judge at this distance, but we must accept it without total understanding" (383). Though no one could ask for total understanding, Martin could have pushed further his evaluation of these contributing factors. Since he does not underpin his knowledge of Hopkins' depression with a sound clinical theory, references to depression function on the level of metaphor. White, on the other hand, claims that Hopkins' life "was an unpatterned succession of turmoils," but does not apply psychological findings to investigate the underlying reasons for this (vii).

Despite the large number of words already devoted to Hopkins' biography, it seems to me that more needs to be said and can be said about Hopkins' "world within," as expressed through his journals and letters, and most intensely through his poetry. Though "dark," the 1885 sonnets can be illuminated by showing that they are the culmination of Hopkins' lifelong pattern of conflict and poetic adaptation.

A psychobiographical approach, informed by a synthesis of recent findings in psychology and psychiatry, provides considerable evidence to suggest that Hopkins suffered from a bipolar (manic-depressive) disorder or at the very least the less extreme, though more chronic, form of depression known as cyclothymia. Of course, it is impossible to determine the contribution of Hopkins' biological constitution to later depressive episodes given the available biographical information. Nevertheless, there are indications that he manifested several of what the psychiatrists Whybrow, Akiskal, and McKinney describe as the typical predisposing features of manic-depression, including early disruptions in primary object relations, later sensitivity to object loss, a strong drive for order and control (characteristic of obsessional behavior), and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

asceticism. Now that attitudes towards psychological suffering have changed from suspicion and intolerance to compassion, we can move beyond the labels, and reach a deeper appreciation of Hopkins' remarkable emotional as well as poetic achievement.[5]

In light of his character, Hopkins' poetic impulse can be seen as playing several paradoxical roles. Paddy Kitchen concludes that, through poetry, "Above all, he could recreate the moment of arousing wonder at physical attraction and he could describe the experience of despair" (232). However, Hopkins does not merely reflect or recreate psychic states and inner discord in his poetry. The act of composition, on the one hand, provides an outlet for unacceptable sensory impulses since it enables him to manipulate conflicting psychic elements on various symbolic levels. Through this creative play, Hopkins attempts to unify divisive elements, to manage his "world within," and to "rid the dragons," which may be bad, anxious, or depressive feelings. On the other hand, in Hopkins' case, poetry also seems to exacerbate conflicts since he views it as an unacceptable activity for a Jesuit priest. Creative activity may promote Hopkins' obsessional behavior and intensify his self-denigration by making him more attentive to inner states.

By using this framework to address the relationship between Hopkins' personality and his poetic drive, we can arrive at more convincing sources than have hitherto been proposed for Hopkins' expression of desolation in the Dublin sonnets. Hopkins desperately attempted to ward off depressive affect through writing these sonnets, since the typical strategies for coping with depression no longer served him. Only by articulating his emotional trials could he even begin to manage the desolation which threatened to overwhelm him. Viewing the sonnets as an attempt to image various psychic states has at least one advantage over the traditional approach of showing that the dark sonnets demonstrate a pattern of spiritual descent and ascent, similar to that found in St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. Critics who argue for this pattern, such as Paul Mariani, may be taking too great a critical liberty, since as Daniel Harris has pointed out, the sequence of composition cannot be determined conclusively (5–16). The proposed psychic state reading, on the other hand, does not depend on chronology.

Further support for the psychobiographical reading is suggested by the obviously autobiographical nature of the poems.[6] In addition, we do know from numerous letters and journal entries

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that Hopkins was highly perceptive and articulate about his psychological states. For example, he recognized his feelings of division, claiming to Robert Bridges in defence of Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde* that "You are certainly wrong about Hyde being overdrawn: My Hyde is worse" (*Letters . . . to Robert Bridges* 238, hereafter LB). Late in life he referred to the many times he had "been in a sort of extremity of mind" (*Further Letters* 197, hereafter FL). He was even willing to "diagnose [his] own case" for Bridges, asserting that "to judge of my case, I think my fits of sadness, though they do not affect my judgement, resemble madness" (LB 134). However, he could not always account for their source. In yet another letter to Bridges he confided that he was trying to set an examination paper "in a distress of mind difficult both to understand and to explain. It seems to me I can not always last like this: in mind or body or in both I shall give way" (LB 161). The knowledge that he needed to make sense of his condition simply did not exist; he was limited by the perceptions of his age about "mental disease."[7] On at least one occasion he resorted to the prevailing Victorian explanation for psychological distress—nervous weakness—though it seemed inadequate: "The weakness I am suffering from—it is that only, nervous weakness (or perhaps I ought not to say nervous at all, for I am not in any unusual way nervous in the common understanding of the word)—continues" (LB 193–94).

If the climate of opinion about psychological distress had been more positive, and the ideas and language available, we can speculate that, given his tenacity and his openness to diagnosing his "case," he would have welcomed the opportunity to probe his emotional states with more information. In this spirit of enquiry we now turn to a closer examination of the dynamics of the most influential of Hopkins' personality traits—that is, disruption in object relations, compulsion for order, asceticism, and manic-depression—illustrating these at several key periods in Hopkins' life before showing the impact of personality conflict on the composition of the Dublin sonnets.

The British object-relations model of loss, originally developed by Melanie Klein, D. W. Winnicott, and W. R. D. Fairbairn, has found increasing acceptance in the psychiatric literature. It posits that those who are unable to manage successful separation from the early attachment bond to the mother, which serves as a prototype for all subsequent bonds with other people and with the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

world at large, will be particularly susceptible to depression (Whybrow et al. 34). The death of either of a child's parents provides the most traumatic reason for this failure to adapt, but in this formulation object loss includes more subtle disturbances in the mother-child bond caused by inattentiveness or inconsistency. D. W. Winnicott's concept of the transitional object contributes to our understanding of this process. Normally these objects, represented in a concrete form by infants' special toys, and in a symbolic way as an intermediate area of experience reflected, for example, in a child's babbling, provide a bridge between the mother and the outside world or between the familiar and the unfamiliar. These objects and the accompanying symbolic activity play a comforting role when the mother is absent and so facilitate the separation process (Brink, *Creativity* 64–65). However, in individuals whose early object relations have been disrupted, these objects function in a more critical way. They can counter depressive feelings of body disintegration and loss of self, and may become the focus of particularly intense ambivalent, divided feelings towards the lost person. In creative individuals the transitional experience sparks off exceptionally creative symbolic play to heal those divisive feelings and to control depressive anxiety. In later life, poetry and other forms of art can become transitional objects (Rose 354), and poetic images and language can balance the oscillating and unstable equilibrium between the "double agonies of isolation and fusion" initiated by unsatisfactory early relations (R. Miller 447).

At a superficial glance, Hopkins' life does not seem to fit the object-loss paradigm. Dead by age forty-four, he predeceased both of his parents. Although he suffered a painful division with them because of his decision to leave the Anglican religion of his family in order to become a Jesuit priest, he seems to have maintained a relationship with them both by correspondence and occasional holiday visits. However, a closer examination of Hopkins' family life suggests that his early relations with his parents were less than satisfactory for such a highly sensitive boy. Though written records of this period are scanty, we do know that Hopkins, born a year after his parents' marriage, was the first of nine children who followed upon one another in rapid succession. Gerard's father, Manley, a man of many interests who had started his own business the year Gerard was born, was apparently often absent, and his mother, Kate, was kept busy with domestic orga-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nization during Hopkins' early years (Kitchen 20; Martin 10; Skarda 40–41). At any rate, in his twelfth month Hopkins was presented with a rival for his mother's attention in the form of his brother Cyril. According to Gilbert Rose, this is a sensitive time, since separation from the mother typically occurs and the transitional object is needed "near the beginning of the second year when the infant is starting to walk and talk and develop a sense of reality and identity" (353). This event must have disrupted Hopkins' attachments to his mother and it is likely that it continued to do so, especially since Cyril later posed the unusual threat of outgrowing Hopkins, a concern which Hopkins expressed in his earliest extant letter to his mother at age four (FL 68).

Significantly, Hopkins is referred to as "Aunt Anne's love" in that letter and it is possible that this older sister of Manley's wrote it for him. An accomplished painter and musician, she became Hopkins' principal caretaker and provided him with a creative outlet in this controlled Victorian household (Bergonzi 2). Skarda claims that Anne likely illustrated and collaborated with Hopkins on "A Story of a Doll."[8] Since its 1854 date coincides with Hopkins' first separation from his family, and follows upon the death of Hopkins' ten-month-old brother Felix, it may well be the first attempt by Hopkins to make reparations for loss through art. The story concerns the tribulations of an orphan, Hugh, who first glimpses beauty in the form of a lovely doll in a shop window. Just before his early death, Hugh passes the shop to find that the doll has been removed. However, he dies consoled by the belief that he will meet the doll again in heaven (Skarda 43). As the story so consciously reverses some details of Gerard's upbringing by depicting a boy who has suffered much greater losses than Gerard had, it is conceivable that the doll functions as a symbolic replacement (or transitional object) for Hopkins' lost brother or for his separation from his family, and that the purpose of the piece is to console.

There is also some evidence to show that Hopkins' upbringing was unusually strict and repressive even for the Victorian period and that his earliest creative endeavors were indeed a necessary outlet. Manley Hopkins was allegedly autocratic (Kitchen 19). Also, Hopkins was initially teased by other boys at Highgate school for keeping his promise to his mother to read a portion of the New Testament every night, suggesting that the Hopkins family's religious practices were perceived as strict by his school-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mates (Bergonzi 3). However, if Hopkins had not felt the effects of an autocratic system at home, he certainly did at Highgate school in the hands of the headmaster, Dyne, who was described by other pupils as an "evil-tempered brute" and a tyrant (Bischoff 39). He delighted in flogging the boys and even Hopkins was not exempt (Kitchen 28). In this environment, Hopkins composed his first extant poems.

In comparison with the sparse evidence about Hopkins' earliest responses to object loss, there is an abundance of evidence to show that he remained highly sensitive to various losses throughout his life. As a Jesuit he received on short notice many orders to change location, which he accepted with resignation, though increasingly they caused him considerable grief (LB 183). He also responded with extraordinary intensity and compassion to the death by drowning of Digby Dolben, a slight acquaintance (Kitchen 102), the suicides of his Oxford acquaintances Nash and Geldart (FL 254), and the defection of his friend Challis from the Roman Catholic Church (Kitchen 137). The most striking expression of his sensitivity to loss occurs in his poems, several of which deal directly with human loss, including "Where art thou friend whom I shall never see," "The Wreck of the *Deutschland*," "The Loss of the *Eurydice*," "Felix Randal," and "Spring and Fall." At least one other poem—"Binsey Poplars"—shows his acute response to the loss, through the felling of a stand of poplar trees, of a natural scene familiar to him.

However, early disruptions in significant attachments and later sensitivity to loss are not in themselves sufficient to explain either Hopkins' depressive episodes or his high motivation to create. Without a doubt, Hopkins' most frequently commented upon characteristics are his meticulousness and concern with detail, order, and patterns. When these come to dominate a character, as I believe they do at times in Hopkins' life, they indicate an obsessional behavioral pattern. One of the most common predisposing traits of depression, obsessional tendencies often originally operate as a defense against separation anxiety and ambivalent feelings (originally directed at parents) through attempting to control both the self and the environment. Cornfield and Malen point out that, in adulthood, this behavioral pattern manifests itself through inflexibility, repetitious or ritual behavior, fixedness of attention, and isolation. These characteristics would not immediately appear to be conducive to creative behavior, but as Anthony Storr forcefully illustrates, several of them are double-edged swords for the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

creative person. Writing, and especially poetry, requires considerable precision in the use of words, and the obsessional is naturally driven to strive for such exactitude. Similarly, ritual can serve a positive function by inducing a state of mind favorable to composition, much in the same way that religious rituals are used to create certain appropriate states of mind (Storr 97).

There are many indicators that Hopkins adopted the obsessional defense pattern and that his poetry attempted (not always successfully) to alleviate inner tensions in an obsessional way. By 1863, Hopkins' "interest in the repeated patterns of the natural world" had been remarked upon by a cousin (Skarda 53). About this time, we have the first evidence of his transferring this interest to paper. His diaries and journals abound with excruciatingly detailed verbal descriptions and drawings of natural scenes. Although some of this precision must have derived from the influence of Ruskin (Bergonzi 20), there can be no doubt that Hopkins employed the method for his own purpose. Discovering beauty both in nature and in humans is, he claimed, "almost synonymous with finding order, anywhere" (*Journals and Papers* 139, hereafter J).

At the age of twenty-four he even went so far as to coin two terms—inscape and instress—which capture his compulsive interest in ordering and his desire to impose control on his environment.[9] Though used in many contexts, inscape refers to the distinctive pattern of an object, event, or natural scene, and instress connotes the force or energy brought to bear on the inscape which makes its pattern recognizable to a receptive mind (Mackenzie 232, 234). In poetry, Hopkins asserted that it is not meaning which primarily interests him, but that "design, pattern or what I am in the habit of calling 'inscape' is what I above all aim at in poetry" (LB 66). That obsessive aim is reflected throughout his poetry in various forms: in the detailed description of the patterns of the flight of a bird ("The Windhover," No. 36), of various landscapes ("Penmaen Pool," No. 30; "In the Valley of the Elwy," No. 34; and "Ribblesdale," No. 58), and of spring (Nos. 17 and 33), to give but a few examples. However, Hopkins' obsessional defense of attempting to control both the self and environment began to work against him in the years leading up to 1885. During these years, Hopkins increasingly directed his frustration inward, with masochistic force.[10]

Given the predisposing characteristics outlined, what evidence is there to suggest that Hopkins was a bipolar or manic-depres-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sive, and if so, how can this dynamic help us understand more clearly the anguish expressed in the Terrible Sonnets? Biographers and critics alike have been reluctant to accept this possibility because, like Alison Sulloway, they do not perceive that Hopkins' depressions were "unrelated to any external events" (119). However, critics have not taken into account recent integrative models of manic-depression. These suggest that, given the predisposing characteristics such as those mentioned, an accumulation of stresses in the individual's environment *can* contribute to the onset of bipolar episodes. More important in defining manic-depression is the intensity of the mood change, whether it persists and is accompanied by signs and symptoms, and whether there is a history of past episodes (Whybrow et al. 15). Hopkins more than adequately fulfills these criteria, as will be seen.

According to the psychiatric literature, the typical age of onset of the bipolar disorder is from the teens to the thirties. Moods typical in manic phases include "infectious gaiety," irritability, argumentativeness, and tearfulness. Mental activity is characterized by poor concentration and flights of ideas, manifested in rhyming and punning and "pressure to keep talking" (Whybrow et al. 52). In depressive cycles, on the other hand, the individual is unable to respond to or generate pleasurable stimuli, and has feelings of anxiety, helplessness, worthlessness, and guilt. Habit dominates his thought and he fears impending madness. There may be social withdrawal, signs of deficient motivation, diminished initiative, and fatigue.

Three overlapping rigid response patterns typically develop in the individual's effort to restore equilibrium. First, in a move towards dependency, an individual may "transfer the unresolved issues surrounding attachment and separation from the parenting figures to others in the individual's life who appear competent and capable" (Whybrow et al. 186). Nevertheless, since true self-reliance fails to develop, this response is restrictive. Second, obsessional activity may increase, but this proves equally limiting. Third, an aggressive, pseudoindependent stance may be taken in an effort to defend against feelings of loss of self (Whybrow et al. 188). This generally also proves ineffective since the depressive typically has an underlying conflicting yearning "for a close relationship with a caring individual, with someone, in fact, who fits the ego-ideal" which the depressive strives for (Whybrow et al. 187). Whybrow, Akiskal, and McKinney summarize the typical outcome of the depressive pattern as follows:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> Having never satisfactorily resolved the psychobiological issues surrounding attachment and separation, depression-prone persons remain extremely sensitive to loss or perceived loss—of people, of animals, of their own philosophical goals, of friendship, even of material objects. Frequently, in defending against this contingency and its associated feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, such persons have adopted rigid adaptive styles. Some of these styles or rescue operations work very well for many years, but frequently at middle age, a special combination of events disrupts the precarious equilibrium and with it their self-regard. (186)

As both Brink (*Loss* 28–34) and Storr point out, however, highly creative manic-depressives may have the additional option of attempting to circumvent depressive affect through the act of creation itself, which can serve to inject self-esteem and to allow aggressive feelings to emerge.

From the available biographical data, it appears as though Hopkins manifested the symptoms of both manic and depressive cycles during at least four periods in his life—at Oxford (1864–1867); at Mount St. Mary's (Spinkhill), Oxford, and Liverpool (1877–1878); at Stonyhurst (1882–1883); and most severely in Dublin (1884–1885). Furthermore, he appears to have utilized all three coping strategies—that is, the dependent, obsessional, and pseudoindependent—although these became progressively restricting and unsatisfactory until, in his Dublin years, creative behavior seems to have provided the only partially and ambiguously successful rescue mechanism. A glance at a couple of these periods will serve to establish Hopkins' behavioral pattern.

Hopkins' bipolar episodes seem to have been initiated during his Oxford years, and consideration of this period is crucial to an understanding of his later life, since he made several momentous decisions at this time. Upon entering Oxford, Hopkins experienced a euphoria never before known to him, partly because of the stimulating atmosphere of the university, but also because he was finally free from the repressive influence of headmaster Dynes at Highgate (and possibly because he effected a more permanent separation from his parents). According to Michael Allsopp, at Oxford Hopkins quickly became "excitedly absorbed in his own reflection and writing—in both essay and poetic form. These were months of elation, rare happiness, and particularly heightened mental activity" (167).

If this period in his life was not initially manic, it eventually became so, since Hopkins appears to have continued in this elated

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

state for almost two years. Significantly, several of his verse fragments of the period are riddled with puns (see Nos. 82 and 87), and the pressure to speak seems to have spilled over into his obsessively detailed diaries and notebooks. In March and April of 1865, however, he experienced a spiritual crisis and by the beginning of 1866 his condition was much more unstable (J 325–26). Plagued by doubts about his religion and his future, and tormented by anxiety concerning his sinfulness, his moods oscillated more rapidly (Allsopp 170–71). Again, this is reflected in his poetry, most noticeably in the contrast between the despondency and doubts of "Nondum" (February 14, 1866) and the enthusiasm and optimism of "Easter" (April 1866). As Bischoff claims, Hopkins was "at war with himself"; he became increasingly irritable and "heatedly set upon one friend after another, taunting Stuckey Coles about 'Romanizing,' quarrelling with Baillie, Urquhart, and even Addis" (78). Several hysterical outbursts of laughter during sermons and family gatherings also occurred. In the midst of all this upheaval, he saw Catholicism as "the only consistent position" (as cited in Bischoff 83). However, the division with his parents which this decision engendered continued to cause him to break down. In October 1866, he wrote to his father that "It is possible even to be very sad and very happy at once and the time that I was with Bridges, when my anxiety came to its height, was I believe the happiest fortnight of my life" (FL 95). Later in 1866 mania appears to have given way to bouts of depression, which he continued to experience well into 1867 while teaching in Birmingham (Kitchen 103).

Nevertheless, his decision seems eventually to have helped him restore equilibrium. By June 1868, he could write to the Reverend Urquhart that, since he had made his decision to join the Jesuits, "I have enjoyed the first complete peace of mind I have ever had" (FL 51). Though Hopkins consciously joined the Catholic church with the intention of finding greater religious certainty, it seems quite possible that the move also enabled him to employ the adaptive strategies of the depressive. First, he was able to exchange his dependence on his original unsatisfactory parental authorities for dependence on figures who had attained more prominence in his life: they included Cardinal Newman (whom Hopkins approached to be converted); St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits; and the spiritual family of God, His Son, and the mother Mary.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These figures held out the promise of greater security and a chance to renegotiate unresolved relations.

Second, the conversion also (at least temporarily) sanctioned his scrupulous impulse to confess his sins in both a spoken and written form, as his tortured diary entries attest. They list sins ranging from thinking evil thoughts to masturbation (Kitchen 70). Hopkins' adopted religion also satisfied his particular interest in ritual and form. Third, although in actuality a move towards greater dependency, Hopkins' decision enabled him to take a pseudoindependent stance and to vent the "more than usual share of resentment against parents" which the manic-depressive typically harbors (Whybrow et al. 80). In the October 1866 letter to his father, from which I have already quoted, Hopkins concludes that "my only strong wish is to be independent," although earlier in that same letter he had claimed that, "I have no power in fact to stir a finger: it is God who makes the decision and not I" (FL 95, 92). In a way typical of the pseudoindependent response, Hopkins continued to yearn for a close relationship with a caring individual who fit the ego-ideal for which he strove. Initially, Hopkins found this in his relationship with God, and specifically in the figure of Christ. However, in order to strive towards this ideal, he felt compelled to burn his poems, which he believed embodied dangerous sensual impulses. This he likely did within five days of deciding to become a Jesuit; he ironically referred to the event as the "slaughter of the innocents" (J 164–65). Thus following his conversion, we see several adaptive strategies in operation.

Hopkins broke his vow of poetic silence only when he felt compelled to write on the wreck of the *Deutschland* in 1875. By this time, however, he had in his journals already associated his passion for inscaping with a religious aim, namely the capturing of the divine design in Nature (J 199), which made his poetic impulse more acceptable to him. But Hopkins went further than this in the poems which follow "The Wreck of the *Deutschland*." In a maneuver typical of the obsessional who is accessing a preoedipal level of behavior, Hopkins attempts to possess his objects—in this case, to instress both the natural scenes he focusses on and the figure of Christ he finds within them, through the medium of sound. J. Hillis Miller quite accurately argues that for Hopkins, "words are a means of possessing nature," and that, by using language, he enacts "a kind of inner pantomime" which helps him

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

overcome feelings of division and emptiness within (284–85; see also Sobel).

In the first nine months of 1877, during another manic phase, Hopkins' creation of a number of religious sonnets shows this process at work. Now thirty-three years old, Hopkins was studying for his examination in theology, which took place in July 1877. Since it was the last hurdle before he could be ordained as a Jesuit priest, he was under a considerable amount of pressure, similar to that experienced when studying for his Oxford exams. More importantly, Hopkins looked forward with excited anticipation to his ordination, a threshold which could never be recrossed.[11] The combination of stress and excitement resulted in Hopkins' creation of eight or nine poems which "flame out, like shining from shook foil" just as he claims God's grandeur does in the first of them. In another, "The Starlight Night," which Hopkins claimed to have dashed off "in a freak" (Kitchen 176), sixteen exclamation marks work together with the sound patterns to reinforce the feeling of celebration of God in nature. Hopkins' unique "sprung rhythm," enabling unstressed syllables to be added to a metrical line, also helps make the experience of ecstasy more substantial through sound.

Hopkins' ecstatic flight could not continue indefinitely, however, and one of the later poems in the sequence, "The Caged Skylark," illustrates the instability of the mood quite vividly.[12] In the first stanza, man's predicament is compared to that of a caged skylark, using an image of constriction ("Man's mounting spirit in his bone-house, mean house, dwells—") remarkably close to one found in No. 67 of the "dark" sonnets ("Bones built in me, flesh filled, blood brimmed the curse"). The second stanza continues the comparison by providing a powerful image of an extreme mood swing. Despite their differing positions, man and bird

> Both sing sometimes the sweetest, sweetest spells
> Yet both droop deadly sometimes in their cells
> Or wring their barriers in bursts of fear or rage. (No. 39)

Hopkins' own "sweetest spell" of singing came to an abrupt end when, to his grave disappointment, he found he would not be able to remain at St Beuno's for a further year of study. Paradoxically, just as he realized his ambition of becoming a full-fledged Jesuit priest, which he felt would bring him closer to Christ, he entered what Bergonzi describes as "an unsettled mode of life"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(91). Not surprisingly, in the years leading up to his move to Dublin, Hopkins' complaints of overwork, fatigue, and depression increased, and periods in which he achieved "calm of mind," as he did during his 1881 retreat at Roehampton, became correspondingly less frequent. By 1883, he was writing to a longtime friend, Alexander Baillie, that he does not "wholly dislike the work, but I fall into or continue in a heavy weary state of body and mind in which my go is gone" (FL 251). Given this state of physical and mental exhaustion, the order Hopkins received to take up the position of Professor of Greek at University College, Dublin, in February 1884, was a dubious distinction at best. Both the position and the environment provided enough stresses to precipitate a major depression in which Hopkins' former adaptive strategies proved inadequate.

Some of these disruptive events or "stressors" can be readily identified. Sixteen years had elapsed since Hopkins had decided to become a Jesuit in 1868, and during that time he had been moved, often at short notice, at least twelve times.[13] According to the psychiatric literature, "depressives report experiencing, on the average, three to four times more life changes per unit of time than do nondepressed controls" (Whybrow et al. 77). Hopkins' record of change is undoubtedly well above the average for the Victorian period.[14] Furthermore, his move to Dublin represented his most drastic change since it meant leaving his homeland for a country—Ireland—in conflict with England over home rule, about which he endured constant "grief of mind" (Kitchen 216). Depressives may also consider new positions threatening, especially if they feel that, as a reward, these positions are undeserved (Whybrow et al. 190). Hopkins fits the description since he wrote to both Bridges and Coventry Patmore that he felt "unworthy" and "unfit" for his post (LB 190; FL 63).

As is typical of the depressive, Hopkins felt that his performance was poor and so strove in an obsessive way to perform his admittedly strenuous duties with even greater scrupulosity. His principal task was to mark examinations; according to Kitchen, "he agonized for hours over a complex system he developed in which half and quarter marks were allotted, and the resulting totals repeatedly checked and balanced one against the other" (215). In keeping with his obsessional and masochistic tendencies, Hopkins reviewed his past life at about this time, and became increasingly introspective and self-critical, which, as we

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have seen, is how he responded to depression during his Oxford days. In April 1885, he wrote to Baillie:

> Some time since, I began to overhaul my old letters, accumulations of actually ever since I was at school, destroying all but a very few, and growing ever lother to destroy, but also to read, so that at last I left off reading; and there they lie and my old notebooks and beginnings of things, ever so many, which it seems to me might well have been done, ruins and wrecks. (FL 255)

As the depressive episode worsens, victims tend to fear madness (Whybrow et al. 9), and again Hopkins fits the pattern. He wrote to Bridges in May 1885: "I think my fits of sadness, though they do not affect my judgement, resemble madness" (LB 216; FL 256).

However, the most graphic and compelling portrayal of Hopkins' mental state is to be found in the six or seven sonnets of desolation of 1885. As mentioned, the traditional reading of these as spiritual exercise demonstrating descent and ascent depends on a sequence of composition which cannot be verified. Instead, the sonnets should be treated without imposing a chronological order on them; they should be valued for the intensity and variety of the emotion each expresses. From a biographical point of view, we can see how the aspects of personality discussed earlier shape Hopkins' struggle to overcome his despair and to remain true to his faith. Since he appears to have drawn on the three typical adaptive patterns of the depressive with scant success, it is only through articulating his dilemma that he appears to have stabilized his condition, while at the same time redefining his relationship with God.

Hopkins' most explicit statement of his sense of loss and isolation occurs in Sonnet 66, "To seem the stranger lies my lot . . ." (101). In each of the first three stanzas, he progressively reveals how his life choices, and his religious conviction in particular, have caused him to be physically and spiritually distant from his family and his country, and to be separated from Ireland, in which he now resides. However, two further removes are implied. Hopkins has, in a sense, become a "stranger" to himself because his emotions are divided. Whereas he wants to be able to feel that Christ is the source of his peace, increasingly he recognizes that Christ has been the cause of "my parting, sword and strife" (101). In addition, he feels removed from God. Despite the wisest or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

most pious words his heart breeds, "dark heaven's baffling ban/ Bars or hell's spell thwarts" (101). Consequently, Hopkins fears that he has been left "a lonely began," an image which suggests incompleteness and fragmentation. Against this overwhelming sense of loss, Hopkins desperately tries to implement the obsessional defense.

Though really only a prelude to the "dark" sonnets, "Spelt From Sibyl's Leaves" (1884) most vividly illustrates the breakdown of this strategy. A volley of seven adjectives bursts forth in the opening line, in an attempt to capture the force of an apocalyptic evening: "Earnest, earthless, equal, attuneable/vaulty, voluminous, . . . stupendous/Evening strains . . ." (97). Hopkins' words strain as well in order to control this environment onto which he has projected his own feelings, but he fails, claiming "our night whelms, whelms, and will end us" (97). In the sestet, the only inscape or pattern which can still be perceived is that of "beakleaved boughs" but even they become engulfed by blackness. Fighting back anxiety, Hopkins responds obsessively by reducing the threatening experience to "black, white/right, wrong" (98). But this move serves only to intensify ambivalent divisive feelings, which are finally directed against the self with masochistic force: "selfwrung, selfstrung, sheathe—and shelterless,/thoughts against thoughts in groans grind" (98).

Sonnet No. 67, "I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day," depicts the most destructive result of obsessional introspection, a characteristic of the depressive. Hopkins can no longer create inscapes to order his experience; he can only "feel the fell of dark." The senses are disordered, and as the use of "fell" with its connotations of "gall," "fierceness," and "destructiveness" implies, darkness exerts great pressure on Hopkins. Harris notes that nature has all but disappeared from the sonnet (59). Correspondingly, Hopkins' compulsive attempt to identify and even to possess members of the spiritual family (Christ, Mary, God) through nature has not been successful.

God has withdrawn and Hopkins' "lament/Is cries countless, cries like dead letters sent/To dearest him that lives alas! away" (101). Since Hopkins cannot otherwise account for God's absence, his introspection forces him to reproach himself. He is "gall" and "heartburn," though he cannot even name his sin, an act which would help him to place it in perspective. At this point, his anger and resentment towards the lost object (God) surfaces.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lines 8 and 9, "God's most deep decree/Bitter would have me taste," suggest that God's failure to grant Hopkins grace is both frustratingly unfathomable and arbitrary. The final sestet develops Hopkins' self-castigating belief that he is responsible for his bitter and isolated state. His "self-yeast of spirit," or spiritual pride, causes the "dull dough" of his mortal body to "sour" without divine handling or intervention.

This hint of Hopkins' awareness that he has taken a pseudoindependent, aggressive stance toward God, a typical adaptive strategy of the depressive, is most fully developed in Sonnet 64, "Carrion Comfort." In the opening lines, the effect of mental stuttering, created by the repetition of negatives and the preponderance of caesuras, reinforces the feeling that Hopkins' ability to order his experience is breaking down:

> Not, I'll not, carrion comfort, Despair, not feast on thee;
> Not untwist—slack they may be—these last strands of man
> In me or, most weary, cry *I can no more.* I can;
> Can something, hope, wish day come, not choose not to be. (99)

Throughout the octave he believes that he is losing a battle with Despair; his resolve to "not choose not to be" weakens with each utterance.

Even so, God continues to torment Hopkins "with darksome devouring eyes" until he is "frantic to avoid thee and flee," and driven to wonder why God should persevere (99). In order to control his fear, initially he proposes in a reductive way (reminiscent of the sestet in "Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves") that God does this so that Hopkins' "chaff" will be separated from his "grain," which will "lie, sheer and clear" (100). He then realizes that this answer is too pat and doubts whether he has truly "kissed the rod," which is necessary before God's benevolence can be felt. Whom has he cheered through his period of tribulation, "The hero whose heaven-handling flung me, fóot tród/Me? or me that fought him?" The use of "flung" here suggests that Hopkins believes that he has been roughly or carelessly treated by God. He does not, however, fully acknowledge that he has taken a rebellious stance until he exclaims "(my God!)" in the final line. Once again, this realization causes him to denigrate himself; he refers to himself as a "wretch": "That night, that year/Of now done darkness I wretch lay wrestling with (my God!) my God" (100). Though the phrase "now done" implies that the issue has been resolved, the pseudoinde-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pendent response emerges in another form in Sonnet 68, "Patience, hard thing. . . ." Here, Hopkins suspects that, as one of those whose "hearts grate on themselves" because of ambivalent feelings, his "rebellious will" has not yet been found acceptable by God (102).

Sonnet 65 shows Hopkins struggling to overcome despair by trying to regain dependence on God, a third adaptive pattern. As late as 1883, in "The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air We Breathe," we have evidence of Hopkins striving to possess, or be possessed by, his ideal object—in this case Mary. In the final verse of that poem, he implores Mary to "be" his "atmosphere" and then prays to be "Wound with thee, in thee isled/Fold home, fast fold thy child" (97). This final image evokes the childlike fantasy of complete merging and total dependency; it belies a desperation to achieve unity. Sonnet 65 portrays the consequence of that unrealistic expectation. "Pitched past pitch of grief," Hopkins cries out in anguish and anger over his lost objects: "Comforter, where, where is your comforting?/Mary, mother of us, where is your relief?" (100)[15] In the final lines, forced to accept his more distant position, he admonishes himself to "creep,/Wretch, under a comfort serves in a whirlwind," but this only provokes the even bleaker vision that "all/Life death does end and each day dies with sleep" (100). Thus, the dependent response of the depressive is no longer viable for Hopkins.

In Sonnet 69, Hopkins seems more willing to accept this reality. Instead of trying to merge with God in order to ward off depressive anxiety, he comes closer to understanding that he must be less self-critical. He "can no more get" comfort through masochistic introspection—"by groping round my comfortless, than blind/Eyes in their dark can day" (102). A far more productive strategy is to "call off thoughts awhile/Elsewhere; leave comfort root-room; let joy size" (103). A *creative* space must be allowed to develop between Hopkins and God, so that Hopkins will not castigate himself upon failing to become his ego-ideal. Though this sonnet entertains the possibility of a more truly reparative response to depressive affect than others of the period, it remains a potentiality since the "tormented mind" is "tormenting yet," and the poem takes the form of a prayer.

The Terrible Sonnets also illustrate the paradoxical role of poetry in Hopkins' depressive state. On the one hand, poetry serves to exacerbate conflict since it acts as a vehicle for obses-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sional behavior; it promotes the repetition of harmful introspection. On the other hand, his poetry enables him to step outside his dilemma momentarily, or at least to establish a dialogue between warring aspects of the self, as he does in Sonnet 65 when he "advises" his "poor Jackself" to "let be" (103). In Sonnet 66, he also appears to be aware of the necessity to articulate and communicate in order to repair divided feelings. Regardless of the wisdom of his words, if they are left to breed in his heart, and are "hoard[ed] unheard/Heard unheeded" then he will be left "a lonely began" (101). Sonnet 67 illustrates the consequence of that failure to articulate. This sonnet is the blackest of the group because God has withdrawn without even communicating the nature of the sin to the sinner. As a result, Hopkins cannot define his sin through words, which makes it seem overwhelming to him. This situation causes him to turn to self-deprecation, and even to believe that his very nature is cursed: "Bones built in me, flesh filled, blood brimmed the curse" (101).

In Sonnet 65, Hopkins is somewhat better off since he is able to articulate his psychic state more clearly. He images his mood swings in terms of height and depth, "steep or deep," and states: "O the mind, mind has mountains; cliffs of fall/Frightful, sheer, no-man-fathomed" (100). Significantly, this image, which gives his dilemma a perspective, follows immediately upon the most evocative image of the process of creative repair found in these sonnets. Hopkins "cries heave" and "on an age-old anvil wince and sing—/Then lull, then leave off" (100). Though creating poetry, "the age-old anvil," causes Hopkins to wince because so painful, it also makes him "sing." By hammering out his emotions, and more specifically, by hammering them into the sonnet form, Hopkins can manage to a degree the cries which well up from within. A "lull" in his sorrows will thus occur and he will be able to "leave off" crying. While Hopkins' perspective does indeed remain bleak in this sonnet, the possibility of creative repair has not been ruled out entirely.

In the midst of such a deep depression, and believing that "No worst there is none," it is amazing that Hopkins found any means of restoring comfort, especially since his attempts to use the dependent, obsessional, and pseudoindependent adaptive strategies of the depressive proved unsuccessful. That he was able to draw upon the resources necessary to create so extraordinary a group of poems is remarkable. By 1886, his depression had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abated, but he appears never to have recovered fully from its debilitating effects. He continued to suffer from fatigue (Kitchen 221), and during a retreat in 1888 he again found himself "on that course of loathing and hopelessness which I have so often felt before, which made me fear madness and led me to give up the practice of meditation except, as now, in retreat and here it is again" (*Selected Prose* 165). However, he also continued to write poetry which reflects the reparations he attempted to make. Though poems 73 and 75 demonstrate that the "war within" remains, poem 72, "That Nature is a Heraclitean Fire," suggests that he had regained his appreciation for nature and renegotiated a more positive relationship with God. In the latter poem, he wards off depressive affect by crying out "Enough!" and then by comforting himself with thoughts of "the Resurrection,/A heart's clarion!" (105).

Thus, the psychobiographical approach has enabled us to see both that the roots of the despair expressed in the 1885 sonnets are very deep, and that Hopkins' lifelong struggle with manic-depression was somewhat alleviated by his ability to create innovative poetry, often within the highly structured sonnet form. As Walter Ong claims, it is unfair to attribute Hopkins' anguish to "repressions brought on by the 'military' character of Jesuit life" (62), or indeed to any single cause. Numerous elements in both Hopkins' environment and his personality combined to create the cage which alternately caused him to "droop deadly sometimes" and enabled him to "sing sometimes the sweetest, sweetest spells."

NOTES

1. All quotations of Hopkins' poetry will be taken from *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Gardner and Mackenzie. References to poem numbers also follow this edition.
2. Patricia Wolfe's conjecture is typical: "Perhaps it was the loss of physical vitality which caused the depression and inner conflict of Hopkins' last years; perhaps the basis was primarily psychological" (219).
3. Paddy Kitchen intuits about the Dublin period that "One has the feeling that the inquietude of Hopkins' being, expressed most forcibly to Bridges, was an entrenched plant, feeding on the psychological patterns of forty years, and that no amount of good fellowship could now change the nature of the plant," but she does not follow through her insight in any rigorous way (215). Bernard Bergonzi, on the other hand, quite justly criticizes as reductive the view that Hopkins was "a homosexual and that all his psy-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

chological problems arose from this one acknowledged cause" (149). However, his own single, specific explanation is equally reductive: "In my own judgment the real conflict in Hopkins' nature was not sexual at all, but was between his strong desire for success and recognition and his equally strong dread of them. It was this conflict, I believe, that led him into such perverse and self-defeating courses of behaviour in his practical life" (150).

4. Unfortunately, Martin's wording suggests that Hopkins deliberately established this pattern, though nothing could be further from the truth.
5. Unfortunately, some of the outdated labels with derogatory connotations do persist in Hopkins scholarship. In a recent review of White's biography, P. N. Furbank claims that "The life of verse, as Hopkins envisaged it, lay in bracing and strenuous collisions of stress; and evidently it is significant, *though we need not explain it away as morbid psychology,* that the example that first comes to mind is concerned with discipline—with rods and lashes" (emphasis mine). Even Martin occasionally lapses into an outmoded terminology with negative connotations, as in the statement quoted previously that "Probably Hopkins was already *deeply unbalanced mentally* when he came to Dublin" (383; emphasis mine).
6. Hopkins himself frequently declared that poets should be "in earnest" and not use a "theme for trying style on" (*Letters . . . to Robert Bridges* 225, as cited in Mackenzie 170). In Sonnet 67 he explicitly states that "With witness I speak this," in reference to the overpowering emotions with which he grapples (101).
7. Hopkins may have been particularly careful about how he spoke of his relation to madness, since the Victorians perceived a much more severe dividing line between mental health and mental illness than our post-Freudian culture does. Patients either had convincing physiological symptoms (in which case they would sooner or later be incurable cases of dementia), or they suffered from some moral weakness, and this bias was entrenched in the laws about institutionalization. Until 1915 individuals were prohibited from voluntarily admitting themselves to public "lunatic asylums," as psychiatric wards were then referred to. According to Hearnshaw, "An individual was either mad, in which case he was certified and compulsorily shut up, or sane, when nothing need or could be done about him. No half-way stages were officially recognized, and the early treatment of incipient breakdown was thus actively discouraged" (145). See also Clark 285–87.
8. Norman White claims that Gerard's father wrote the piece, though he does not provide supporting evidence (19).
9. For early references, see his notes on Parmenides in *The Notebooks and Papers* 98 (hereafter NB), and several *Journal* entries, including those on 127, 230, and 289.
10. According to Storr, masochism, at one extreme on the continuum of ascetic behaviors, frequently accompanies obsession (108). Since the obsessional cannot deal appropriately with ambivalence towards others (initially the parents), he turns aggression inwards in an attempt to maintain control. If he has high ideals which cannot be achieved, aggression against the self

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

becomes severe and depression often results (Whybrow et al. 35). From the earliest records on, there is considerable evidence to suggest that asceticism had for Hopkins, as the Jesuit biographer Bischoff concedes, "a peculiar attraction" (87). At Highgate, attempting to settle a dispute about the amount of suffering seamen could endure, Hopkins went without liquids until his tongue turned black. He was only stopped by the headmaster's intervention (Kitchen 26). During his Oxford days, he developed the habit of castigating himself in his diaries for a variety of "old sins," including, according to Kitchen, "having evil thoughts while writing about Christ's passion on Good Friday, and this may confirm that he became excited by pain and suffering and tried to suppress this reflex" (71). Furthermore, in his first poetic effort, "The Escorial," he shows an undue interest in the suffering of St. Lawrence, whose death by roasting on a gridiron Hopkins portrays graphically. There are several other indications in the early poetry that he was afflicted by "a chilling remembrance of my days of old" (No. 17, p. 27), and by "the long success of sin" (No. 18, p. 27; No. 11, p. 20). Nor did this impulse dissipate with maturity, as the severity of aggression directed against the self in the Terrible Sonnets illustrates.

11. My thanks to Joaquin Kuhn for bringing this to my attention in a personal communication, October 31, 1989.

12. White would probably concur that Hopkins' mood swings were unstable during this period. He observes that "There is no relationship between the order in which the [1877] poems were written and their place on the scale of positive to negative emotions; Hopkins's spirits rose and fell in no predictable pattern that year" (288).

13. As Joseph Feeney pointed out to me, eight of these moves occurred immediately after Hopkins' ordination (September 23, 1877), within a four-year period, from October 1877 to October 1881.

14. This instability was apparently not extraordinary for young Jesuits assigned by the English Province, whose pattern of frequent change during this period (1870–1890) disturbed an important outside observer, the Jesuit General, and is considered by Feeney to be "bizarre" (106, 113).

15. "Comforter" here refers to the Paraclete, who might be considered yet another member of the Holy Family. The Paraclete is described by Hopkins in his April 25th Sermon at St Francis Xavier's, Liverpool (NB 287).

WORKS CITED

Allsopp, Michael. "Hopkins at Oxford 1863–67. His Formal Studies." *Hopkins Quarterly* 4.3,4 (1977): 161–76.

Bergonzi, Bernard. *Gerard Manley Hopkins.* New York: Macmillan, 1977.

Bischoff, Dolph A. "Gerard Manley Hopkins as Literary Critic." Ph.D. Diss. Yale, 1952. Ann Arbor: UMI 6408317.

Brink, Andrew. *Creativity As Repair.* Hamilton, Ontario: Cromlech Press, 1982.

———. *Loss and Symbolic Repair.* Hamilton, Ontario: Cromlech Press, 1977.

Clark, Michael J. "The Rejection of Psychological Approaches to Mental Disor-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

der in Late Nineteenth-Century British Psychiatry." *Madhouses, Mad Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era.* Ed. Andrew Scull. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1981. 271–312.

Cornfield, Richard B., and Richard L. Malen. "A Multidimensional View of the Obsessive Character." *Comprehensive Psychiatry* 19.1 (1978): 73–81.

Feeney, Joseph, S.J. "Hopkins' Frequent Reassignments as a Priest." *Hopkins Quarterly* 11.3,4 (1984): 101–18.

Furbank, P. N. "Beauty and Danger. Hopkins's clear-headed collision course." *Times Literary Supplement* March 27, 1992: 3–4.

Harris, Daniel. *Inspirations Unbidden: The "Terrible Sonnets" of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1982.

Hearnshaw, L. S. *A Short History of British Psychology 1840–1940.* London: Methuen, 1964.

Hopkins, Gerard Manley. *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Ed. Claude Colleer Abbot. 2d ed. London: Oxford UP, 1956.

———. *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Ed. Humphry House and Graham Storey. London: Oxford UP, 1959.

———. *The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges.* Ed. Claude Colleer Abbot. 2d imp. London: Oxford UP, 1955.

———. *The Notebooks and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Ed. Humphry House. London: Oxford UP, 1937.

———. *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Ed. W. H. Gardner and N. H. Mackenzie. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980.

———. *Selected Prose.* Ed. Gerald Roberts. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980.

Kitchen, Paddy. *Gerard Manley Hopkins.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978.

Leavis, F. R. "Gerard Manley Hopkins." *New Bearings in English Poetry.* Ed. F. R. Leavis. Harmondsworth: Peregrine, 1963. 159–94.

Mackenzie, N. H. *A Reader's Guide to Gerard Manley Hopkins.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.

Mariani, Paul L. *A Commentary on the Complete Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1970.

Martin, Robert Bernard. *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Very Private Life.* Hammersmith: HarperCollins, 1991.

Miller, J. Hillis. *The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth-Century Writers.* New York: Schocken, 1965.

Miller, Ruth. "Poetry as a Transitional Object." *Between Reality and Fantasy: Transitional Objects and Phenomena.* Ed. Simon A. Grolnick and Leonard Barkin. New York: Aronson, 1978.

Ong, Walter, S.J. *Hopkins, the Self, and God.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1986.

Rose, Gilbert J. "The Creativity of Everyday Life." *Between Reality and Fantasy: Transitional Objects and Phenomena.* Ed. Simon A. Grolnick and Leonard Barkin. New York: Aronson, 1978.

Skarda, Patricia. "Juvenilia of the Family of Gerard Manley Hopkins." *Hopkins Quarterly* 4.2 (1977): 39–54.

Sobel, Emilie. "Rhythm, Sound, and Imagery in the Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins." *Between Reality and Fantasy: Transitional Objects and Phenomena.* Ed. Simon A. Grolnick and Leonard Barkin. New York: Aronson, 1978. 425–45.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Storr, Anthony. *The Dynamics of Creation.* New York: Atheneum, 1972.
Sulloway, Alison G. "Hopkinsian Biography and the Grounds of our Being: A Study of Representative Biographical Materials, Priorities, and Techniques." *Hopkins Quarterly* 4. 3, 4 (1977): 83–126
White, Norman. *Hopkins: A Literary Biography.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.
Whybrow, Peter C., Hagop S. Akiskal, and William T. McKinney, Jr. *Mood Disorders: Toward a New Psychobiology.* New York: Plenum, 1984.
Wolfe, Patricia A. "Hopkins's Spiritual Conflict in the 'Terrible' Sonnets." *Gerard Manley Hopkins. Poems: A Casebook.* Ed. Margaret Bottrall. London: Macmillan, 1975. 218–34.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Review

DAVID AMIGONI, *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse.* New York: St. Martin's, 1993. 199 pp. $39.95.

The main title of this book calls up a conventional image of the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for biography: Froude's Carlyle, John Cross's George Eliot, Stanley's Dr. Arnold; the subtitle, on the other hand, warns of theoretically more challenging material, heralded in particular by the word "discourse." This is an intellectually forbidding book about the troubled and changing relationship between Victorian biography and history and literature. It draws on Foucault, Bakhtin, Gramsci, Terry Eagleton, and Raymond Williams, besides reappraising the work of Carlyle, John Morley, Frederic Harrison, Comte, and the Cambridge historian J. R. Seeley. It contains very little of the cozy human material that readers of biography traditionally enjoy: no deathbeds, no love affairs, no illegitimate children.

Instead, David Amigoni contends that "Victorian biographies were the products of ideologically antagonistic intellectuals with radically different strategies for disordering and ordering cultural discourse" (2–3); and that biography itself played a key part in the struggle for disciplinary dominance between literature and history as authoritative academic discourses. The accepted theory is that English literature had the upper hand; Amigoni argues that the emergence of history was "crucial in determining the subordinate space occupied by literature" (3). His book elaborates on the idea that biography played an important pedagogic role in shaping attitudes to the various forms of cultural language in which they were embedded. What emerges is that many nineteenth-century historians distrusted "literariness," saw it as a "deviant rhetoric" (137), especially in the writing of earlier figures, such as Carlyle and Macaulay, and worked to produce an alternative form of rhetoric that was publicly and politically acceptable. John Morley's English Men of Letters series, according to Amigoni, constituted the fellowship of discourse that policed "literature," and treated it as a form of language which is effective only in an imaginative or aesthetic sense. Another key

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

figure in the debate was J. R. Seeley, who used biography as a medium in his construction of Modern History as a disciplined field. Carlyle had, of course, argued that "the history of the world is but the biography of great men"; Seeley, however, coming to the discipline of Modern History when it was scarcely established, refashioned it as a social mission, aiming to popularize knowledge and pose disinterested political questions about the nation-state.

A founding father here was Auguste Comte, who felt it was essential to create a unitary public opinion "founded on an authoritative epistemology and policed by an intellectual elite" (88). He therefore developed a language and discipline for generating authoritative statements about the past, and for guiding the direction of public opinion, but envisaged the existence of only a few active disseminators of knowledge. This Amigoni sees as the background to a "fellowship of discourse" (in Foucault's terms) which emerged in the practice of Victorian biographical writing. He sees no difficulty in aligning nineteenth-century historians with twentieth-century theorists: they are all, according to him, "custodians of discourse," with the role of custody officer played by history, and the aberrant captive by "literariness," or an unstable, flowery style in what should have been plain authoritarian historical writing. Amigoni is particularly fond of this kind of language as he builds an image of "literariness" as deviant and dangerous. Rhetoric has for him strong political implications, and the intellectual and institutional are, for him, more or less inseparable. I was left with some doubts, however, as to whether the Victorian debate about the emergence of what are now familiar university disciplines was, in reality, quite as austere a process as Amigoni suggests.

This is a densely written, well-researched book with an impeccable theoretical foundation. Amigoni traces a developing pattern of ideas about rhetoric through a connected series of biographers and historians, in large and small projects, closely linking them with the twentieth-century theorists he uses, and with the debate about subject disciplines, argued by Terry Eagleton and Raymond Williams among others. As an intellectual exercise it is extremely impressive, and its author meticulous in piecing together the different parts of his thesis. It is, however, difficult to read, and abounds in sentences such as the following: "The effects of heteroglossia, which is itself a centrifugal cultural phenomenon, have been historically checked by the opposing centripetal forces of cultural organisation"; or, further down the same page: "As Tony Crowley has suggested, Bakhtin singled out Aristotelian poetics as a key centripetal constraint attempting to discipline the contrary centrifugal energies of discourse." Tony Crowley, Bakhtin, Aristotle, "centrifugal," and "centripetal" are all terms that the reader has to understand in relation to this particular context before a sentence like that can convey any very clear ideas. Other terms, such as "liberal-Comtean fellowship of discourse" and "rhetorically double-voiced prose," once coined, are used a little too often and start to become wearisome. If this book has a weakness, it is undoubtedly the way it is written, though it is in many respects representative of the way modern scholarship, especially in English studies, is going. In this case, Amigoni's style has the effect of deadening and distancing the debate, despite his up-to-the-minute mastery of theoretical languages, and is likely to discourage casual readers, such as undergraduates. It seems to me a pity that a potentially stimulating subject has to be discussed in such an offputtingly obscure fashion in order to seem intellectually respectable.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Another weakness for me was the overall "bittiness" of the discussion. We are introduced to a little Carlyle, a little Morley, a few fragments of Frederic Harrison, John Nichols's *Carlyle* (1892), Seeley's *Life and Times of Stein* (1879), some Comte, and Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842); each topic being preceded (and often delayed) by a complex theoretical groundwork. No discussion of the texts themselves was long enough to give the reader any very vivid sense of what they were like. Moreover, only about half the texts chosen were classic examples of what one would normally regard as Victorian biography. I felt the book was really about the uses of biography in formulating approaches to historiography, and that its readership is most likely to be postgraduate specialists in theories of history. Undergraduates would find it difficult to come to grips with, and the issues in it too specialized and intricate for the broader sweep of an average university course.

In fact, however, David Amigoni's main argument is that certain Victorians felt history should be written in plain language and disseminated in an accessible form to the masses, and that biography played a crucial part in this process of establishing a cultural discipline of reading practices. His own approach is curiously at odds with this underlying purpose, and made me worry about the way academics are losing sight of their audiences. Biography is traditionally a form that bridges the gap between the specialist author and the generalist reader. It does seem to me that if, as academics, we wish to have any readers, we must meet them half way, and communicate in a style that is welcoming, not obscure and elitist. Is it ever really necessary to talk of "author-function discourse" or a "discourse of monological authorial ownership"? Are the old words "author" and "text" truly obsolete?

VALERIE SANDERS
University of Buckingham

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed Elsewhere

ALBERT, FÉLIX

Immigrant Odyssey: A French-Canadian Habitant in New England. Félix Albert. Orono: U of Maine P, 1991. 178 pp. $19.95.

Reviewed by Kenneth Fleurant. *French Review* 67.6 (May 1994): 1092–93.

This is a bilingual edition of Albert's autobiography *Histoire d'un enfant pauvre* (1909).

AMIS, KINGSLEY

The Anti-Egoist: Kingsley Amis, Man of Letters. Paul Fussell. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 206 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Terry Teachout. *New York Times Book Review,* September 31, 1994: 12.

"... there really are no weak moments in 'The Anti-Egoist,' whose pages are closely packed with good things. The literary world would be a pleasanter place if more writers followed Paul Fussell's elegant examples and wrote short books about their favorite artists. Brief lives sadly are out of fashion these days—the 600-page biography seems to have replaced the triple-decker novel in the affections of the serious readers—and so Oxford University Press deserves high marks for having published this wholly admirable little book."

BALZAC, HONORE DE

Balzac: A Life. Graham Robb. New York: Norton, 1994. 521 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Eugen Weber. *New York Times Book Review,* September 31, 1994: 14–15.

"Mr. Robb's biography unfolds like a detective story from incident to incident and from clue to clue. Chatty and urbane, the author like his subject, tends to use three sentences where two might do. But he also shares Balzac's love of anec-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dote, of color and of human interest. Thoughtful and informed, Mr. Robb proves, as Balzac did, that literature can even be better when it chatters than when it is concise."

BATES, DAISY

Daisy Bates in the Desert. Julia Blackburn. New York: Pantheon, 1994. 232 pp. $22.00.

Reviewed by Greg Johnson. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 29.

"[Blackburn] shows a special affinity for exploring the congruence between emotional and physical landscapes. Her biography of Bates is not merely a chronicle, but the record of two journeys: Bates's 'battling and hammering at the gates of people and circumstances' to pursue her dreams, and Ms. Blackburn's own voyage into the uncharted territory of a woman's soul."

BEARD, JAMES

Love and Kisses and a Halo of Truffles: Letters to Helen Evans Brown. James Beard. New York: Arcade, 1994. 418 pp. $25.95.

Reviewed by Ruth Reichl. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 25.

"None of the many Beard biographies have done anything to change my opinion of this oversized fellow; what a surprise, therefore, to read this book of letters and discover a hard-working, open and humorous person I wish I had known."

BENJAMIN, WALTER

The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 1910–1940. Edited by Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno. Tr. Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994. 651 pp. $45.00.

Reviewed by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. *New York Times Book Review,* July 31, 1994: 13.

This volume "is clearly intended to fill a major gap. Given that some barriers between German and English are insurmountable, I find the translation to be faithful and felicitous. The production is handsome. There is every reason to rejoice. But one's enthusiasm must be tempered."

BERG, MOE

The Catcher was a Spy: The Mysterious Life of Moe Berg. Nicholas Davidoff. New York: Pantheon, 1994. 453 pp. $24.00.

Reviewed by Dick Teresi. *New York Times Book Review,* July 24, 1994: 1 & 20–21.

This "is a delightful book that recounts one of the strangest episodes in the history of espionage. Nicholas Davidoff, a contributor to *Sports Illustrated, The New Republic* and other magazines, has written a painstakingly researched yet compact biography of the bizarre catcher—a major league ballplayer, Princeton graduate, amateur linguist, ladies' man, raconteur, professional freeloader, lawyer, quiz show contestant and spy. The book is a wild ride through history, combining characters like Heisenberg, Ted Williams, the O.S.S.'s Wild Bill Donovan, Babe Ruth, Albert Einstein, Julia Child, Nelson Rockefeller and Chico Marx. It's filled

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with brilliant scientists, lascivious outfielders and truculent geisha girls. As a biography it appears to lack only one element: a hero. But it has something better. It has Moe Berg."

BISHOP, ELIZABETH

Remembering Elizabeth Bishop. An Oral Biography. Gary Fountain and Peter Brazeau. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1994. 408 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Peter S. Prescott. *New York Times Book Review,* November 13, 1994: 60.

"Generic difficulties aside, 'Remembering Elizabeth Bishop' amply succeeds in what it proposes to do: It offers an intimate view of Bishop's desperate and lonely life, as that life was observed by those who were there at the time—and those observers are a particularly perceptive and articulate lot."

BLY, NELLIE

Nellie Bly: Daredevil, Reporter, Feminist. Brooke Kroeger. New York: Times Books, 1994. 544 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Emily Toth. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 9–10.

"*Nellie Bly* is the engrossing, astonishing story of one Elizabeth Jane Cochran, nicknamed 'Pink.'. . . (Kroeger wisely moves quickly through one of biography's great challenges: how to describe the subject's genealogy without boring the public.) . . . an all-around tough cookie who declared that she was crusading for a better society, she was a combination of Molly Ivins, Madonna, Katherine Hepburn and Eleanor Roosevelt. . . . F. Scott Fitzgerald would base *The Great Gatsby* newspaperwoman Ella Kaye on Nellie Bly."

BONNARD, PIERRE

Bonnard. Nicholas Watkins. San Francisco: Phaidon/Chronicle, 1994. 240 pp. $49.99.

Reviewed by David Sweetman. *New York Times Book Review,* October 16, 1994: 28.

"Nicholas Watkins is good at showing how Bonnard's home gradually became his subject, whether he was looking outward across the garden to the world at large or looking inward across the dining room table to his wife and friends. Gradually the outside world dropped away and there was no one except Marthe, alone but for her cat."

BRECHT, BERTOLT

Journals. Tr. Hugh Rorrison. Ed. John Willett. New York: Routledge, 1994. 556 pp.

Brecht and Company: Sex, Politics and the Making of Modern Drama. John Fuegi. New York: Grove, 1994. 732 pp. $32.50.

Reviewed by Ronald Speirs. *New York Times Book Review,* August 7, 1994: 1 & 17–18.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"As well as being essential reading for anyone engaged in debates about Brecht's intentions or importance, 'Journals' offers the general reader a fascinating document of the years between 1938, when the journals proper begin (although Mr. Willett has added a few earlier autobiographical texts to lead into them), and 1953, the year in which Ulbricht deployed Russian tanks to suppress workers' demonstrations throughout East Germany."

"'Brecht and Company' is broadly a set of variations on a theme, namely that Brecht was a cheat, a bully and a wheedler throughout his life, someone who depended on keeping others dependent on him. Ironically, this at times luridly written biography pretty much adopts a narrative principle Brecht once admired in Robert Louis Stevenson's 'Master of Ballentrae,' of which he said, 'Here a man is viewed and described by someone with a profound antipathy to him; this life story was written by an enemy.'"

BROWN, HELEN EVANS (See "Beard, James")

BUSSY-RABUTIN

Bussy-Rabutin. Jacqueline Duchêne. Paris: Fayard, 1992. 437 pp.

Reviewed by Philippe Hourcade. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 94.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1994): 284–85.

". . . clear and agreeably written, the book is also destined to the general public," but it lacks certain elements which would have given it more depth.

CAPONE, AL

Capone: The Man and the Era. Laurence Bergreen. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. 701 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Vincent Patrick. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 11–14.

"Mr. Bergreen has written a book objective and vigorous enough to meet scholarly standards, yet colorful enough to engross the general reader."

COBB, TY

Cobb: A Biography. Al Stump. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1994. 436 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Robert Preston. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 12.

"Ty Cobb was at once despicable, beneficent and a magnificently talented athlete. Al Stump has done an excellent job of plumbing the character of a sports legend."

COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL AND ROSA

Covarrubias. Adriana Williams. U of Texas P, 1994. $29.95.

Reviewed by Rosemary Rank. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 22.

"In 'Covarrubias,' Adriana Williams, an independent scholar, chronicles the lives and times of Miguel and Rosa Covarrubias with a veritable torrent of names,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

places and events. Most of the notable artists and intellectuals from the 1920's and 30's seem to have crossed their paths, whether in New York, on their travels, or in Mexico City, where they moved in the mid-30's. . . . Ms. Williams has not worked this rich material into an authoritative biography, but the abundant information she has gathered should serve future biographers well."

DEAN, JAMES

Boulevard of Broken Dreams: The Life, Times, and Legend of James Dean. Paul Alexander. New York: Viking, 1994. 314 pp. $22.95.

Reviewed by Molly Haskell. *New York Times Book Review,* August 7, 1994: 11.

"The book is very much a product of our exhaustively exhuming times, proudly exposing what a more repressed society forced—or allowed—to remain hidden. Yet except for those whose particular fantasies are being tickled, the mere recounting of sexual activity is not all that interesting, so what emerges is an opening of doors and a narrowing of focus."

DICKENS, CHARLES

Charles Dickens. Peter Ackroyd. Tr. Sylvère Monod. Paris: Stock, 1993. 1235 pp. FF 290.

Reviewed by Anny Sadrin. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 344–45.

By dropping Ackroyd's final "essays," giving Dickens back his first name in the title, giving heads to the chapters, and providing a significantly younger photo on the dust cover, Monod, with his rich personal style, gives the French reader the best opportunity to enjoy a biographer who seems to have challenged Dickens' dictum (biographers are nothing but novelists without imagination), and shows at the same time that translation too is a kind of creation.

The Letters of Charles Dickens. Volume VII, 1853–1855. Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson, and Angus Easson, eds. Oxford: Clarendon (The Pilgrim Edition), 1993. xxiii + 975 pp. £85.

Reviewed by Sylvère Monod. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 342–44.

Among the little known or unknown details of Dickens' life, one will find an idiosyncratic use of the possessive case (many occurrences), his flowing though not flawless French, his capacity for busying himself with numberless details in numberless fields, his habit of writing to his wife Catherine and her sister Georgina separately on sometimes the same subjects, and a lucid view of Carlyle, all in a language of delectable vitality.

It took the editors five years to move three years forward in Dickens' life, but the result amply justifies the time spent: an enormous mass of information and documents, an excellent introduction, rich notes, and a clear, pleasant arrangement of the material make this edition, in spite of some occasional lapses, a prodigiously good work. An allusion to volume IX makes the reader wonder, in expectant admiration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DOLE, ROBERT

Bob Dole: The Republicans' Man for All Seasons. Jake H. Thompson. New York: Donald I. Fine, 1994. 250 pp. $21.95.

Reviewed by Janet Hook. *New York Times Book Review,* September 25, 1994: 18.

"Much of Mr. Dole's story has been told before, but Jake H. Thompson has bundled it all into a new biography in more than enough time for the 1996 campaign. 'Bob Dole: The Republicans' Man for All Seasons' lacks the subtlety needed to fathom Mr. Dole, as opposed to just reporting on him, but it provides a glimpse of how complex this man who longs to be President is. He is a rock-hard conservative with a fluid core of pragmatism, a mordant wit who can be moved to tears in public (as he was while eulogizing his political mentor, Richard Nixon)."

DUFF GORDON, LUCIE

A Passage to Egypt: The Life of Lucie Duff Gordon. Katherine Frank. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994. 399 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Annette Kobak. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 1 & 24–25.

"It is the bane of biography that so often the 'lesser' characters—particularly the subject's parents—become vivid, while the central figure eludes the writer. 'A Passage to Egypt' is not exempt from this problem. But then, even Isis, in 'remembering' her husband, could bring him back only into eternal life and not fully into the temporal. Katherine Frank's account of the life of Lucie Duff Gordon likewise captures a slice of time as much as it does one person's life, which is also what she set out to do. . . . With its measured pace and natural and economical use of footnotes, flashbacks, and flashes forward, this biography stands as a masterpiece in its own right, a compelling account written in a minor key."

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO

Emerson on the Scholar. Merton M. Sealts, Jr. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1992. 326 pp. £32. $39.95.

Reviewed by Colette Gerbaud. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 358–59.

Observing that the words "scholar" and "action" have not yet been studied appropriately, Sealts concentrates his research on Emerson's sense of the hiatus between intelligence and action, the "yawning gulf" between man's ambition and his powers of action. His "scholar" is a humanist vested with an actual mission: to represent the universal, ideal, "unattainable" being within each of us. An innovative book, bringing out a meaning hitherto only dimly perceived.

FITZGERALD, ELLA

Ella Fitzgerald: A Biography of the First Lady of Jazz. Stuart Nicholson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994. 334 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Francis Davis. *New York Times Book Review,* September 25, 1994: 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Ella Fitzgerald,' Stuart Nicholson's spotty biography of the singer who was frequently introduced on stage as 'the First Lady of Song' . . . offers a reminder that sociology has its limitations; it isn't necessarily destiny. Mr. Nicholson, a British critic and the author of 'Jazz: The Modern Resurgence,' enjoyed no access to Ms. Fitzgerald, who has always been extremely guarded about her past. But the information he has pieced together from other sources suggests that Ella Fitzgerald's early circumstances were as abject as Billie Holiday."

FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Tra cremo e citta. Studi su Francesco d'Asasi e sul francescanesimo medievale. G. G. Merlo. Assisi, Porzuncula, ed., 1991. 365 pp.

Reviewed by Marcel Pacaut. *Revue Historique* 585 (Jan.–Mar. 1993): 197–99.

In this collection of about ten articles already published in the course of this decade, G. G. Merlo throws light on the main questions posed to the historian by Francis of Assisi: personality, message, and genesis of the Franciscan order. The title (between desert and city) exemplifies the difficulties of a fundamentally ambiguous subject, here examined in detailed, qualified, and at times very subtle analyses.

GASKELL, ELIZABETH

Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories. Jenny Unglow. London: Faber, 1993. 690 pp. £20.

Reviewed by Alain Jumeau. *Etudes Anglaises* July–Sept. 1994: 345–46.

Being at once a life and a literary study (as the play on the polysemy of "Habit" suggests), departing from the usual representations in order to reveal a more lively, more spontaneous woman with a sense of humor, Unglow's book is a new portrait of Elizabeth Gaskell, touched up by a feminist critic. Bringing out the links between the major themes of the works and the personal experience of the novelist's childhood, it is, from now on, the best introduction to E. G.

GAUTIER, THÉOPHILE

Théophile Gautier. Anne Uberfeld. Paris: Stock, 1992. 473 pp.

Reviewed by Isabelle Tournier. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 94.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1994): 342.

"The merit and effect of this biography is to concentrate all the activities and images of Gautier."

GUICHARD, JOSEPH

Joseph Guichard, peintre lyonnais (1806–1880): Disciple d'Ingres et de Delacroix. René Chazelle. Lyons: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1992. 79 pp.

Reviewed by Barbara Wright. *French Studies* 48.2 (Apr. 1994): 214.

"This study by René Chazelle is a biography of Guichard, from his origins in Paris (first as a student of Ingres and a devotee of Delacroix, and later, after two years in Rome, as an established painter) followed by his return to Lyon, in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1863, to take up the first of a number of teaching posts which he held there until his death. . . . Although handsomely produced . . . the book is not easy to read. Plate references to illustrations of the paintings under discussion would have been helpful. Furthermore, there are virtually no precise references to the considerable compilation of archival and manuscript material which subtends the text. As a result, the book will leave future scholars with much footwork to be redone, while lacking the verve required to attract a more general readership. Sadly, it falls between the two stools of erudition and vulgarization."

HART, LORENZ

A Poet On Broadway: The Life and Lyrics of Lorenz Hart. Frederick Nolan. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. $25.00.

Reviewed by Andrea Higbie. *New York Times Book Review,* October 9, 1994: 22.

"In this studiously detailed book, Mr. Nolan, the author of 'Rodgers and Hammerstein: The Sound of Their Music,' ably traverses the rocky slide of the clever little boy who became a great big success and then imploded on himself."

HOLIDAY, BILLIE

Wishing on the Moon: The Life and Times of Billie Holiday. Donald Clarke. New York: Viking, 1994. 468 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Francis Davis. *New York Times Book Review,* September 25, 1994: 14.

"Inevitably drawn into her downward spiral, Mr. Clarke, the editor and primary author of the 'Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music,' falls short of his intention 'to try to dispel the conventional image of her as a tragic black woman' and to portray her as 'a hero, not a victim.' Even so, he has written what may be the most thorough and valuable of the many books on Holiday (they began with 'Lady Sings the Blues,' her factually suspect autobiography, written with William Duffy)."

HORNEY, KAREN

Karen Horney: A Psychoanalyst's Search for Self-Understanding. Bernard J. Paris. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994. 270 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Eva Hoffman. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 20.

"In giving an overarching survey of her work, Mr. Paris reminds us of its richness, range and sheer intelligence. What we are left with is a congenially readable study of a very readable writer and an uneasily divided portrait of a woman who had an impressive ability to transform her subjectivity into her subject—and an impressive inability to convert self-knowledge into self-help."

ISABELLA THE CATHOLIC

L'incomparable Isabelle la Catholique. Jean Dumont. Paris, 1992. 234 pp.

Reviewed by Marianne Mahn-Lot. *Revue Historique* 585 (Jan.–Mar. 1993): 222–24.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The reopening of a case for Isabella's beatification is pending, and the author is eager to show her greatness—which cannot be denied. For this, he centers his information mainly on eulogists; he overstates the exemplarity of the royal couple; he claims the immense majority of the Jews were converted of their own free will. Here, we cannot follow him. If everything is excusable through the reason of State, the reason of State will never be a reason for canonization.

JANACEK, LEOS

Intimate Letters: Leos Janacek to Kamilla Stosslova. Ed. and tr. John Tyrell. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994. 307 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Eva Hoffman. *New York Times Book Review,* July 31, 1994: 12.

"'Intimate Letters,' excellently translated and edited by John Tyrell, a musicologist who has written about Janacek's operas, is based on the Czech work of Svatava Pribanova. In preparing the English version, however, Mr. Tyrell has made several helpful decisions: to cut some repetitive letters and material within them, to include several extant letters to Janacek from Stosslova and Janacek's wife, Zdenka, and to provide interlinking commentary explaining matters that would be baffling to non-Czech readers."

JEFFERSON, THOMAS

Thomas Jefferson. Claude Fohlen. Nancy: Perspectives américaines, PU de Nancy, 1992. 223 pp.

Reviewed by Gérard Hughues. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 357–58.

We get abundant details on the expected account of Jefferson's tribulations in Paris, but scanty information about his breach with Hamilton. On the more intimate and disturbing aspects of the man—ambiguous relationships with his female slaves, parsimonious emancipation of his servants (5 out of 68), squandering of his fortune—the author is invariably comprehending, indulgent, absolving. This Life is a little too smooth for a man who was probably not so.

JEWETT, SARAH ORNE

Sarah Orne Jewett: Her World and Her Work. Paula Blanchard. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994. 397 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Lisa Alther. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 25.

"Paula Blanchard's superb biographical study makes it clear that anyone weary of the current avalanche of fiction centering on violence and murder could do a lot worse than to seek out Sarah Orne Jewett's quiet, eloquent explorations of our human capacities."

JONES, CHUCK

Chuck Jones: A Flurry of Drawings. Hugh Kenner. Berkeley: U of California P, 1994. 114 pp. $16.00.

Reviewed by John Canemaker. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 38–39.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"'A Flurry of Drawings' is a cartoon connoisseur's appreciation of a living master who still practices one of our waning century's significant art forms. And that's all folks!"

KENNEDY, ETHEL SKAKEL

The Other Mrs. Kennedy, Ethel Skakel Kennedy: An American Drama of Power, Privilege, and Politics. Jerry Oppenheimer. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. 542 pp. $25.95.

Reviewed by Maureen Dowd. *New York Times Book Review,* October 9, 1994: 3 & 27–31.

"Mr. Oppenheimer's book does not paint a pretty picture of Ethel Kennedy, recycling all the old stories about her inane practical jokes, her speeding tickets, her haphazard child-rearing techniques and her unattractive habit of returning clothes she had worn, food-stained, to Washington stores. The matriarch, Ann (Big Ann) Skakel is an entertaining character. And the Skakels, who have their own set of scandals, accidents, and public infidelities, make the Kennedys seem calm and civilized by comparison."

THE KENNEDY WOMEN

The Kennedy Women: The Saga of an American Family. Laurence Leamer. New York: Villard, 1994. 933 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Maureen Dowd. *New York Times Book Review,* October 9, 1994: 3 & 27–31.

"Mr. Leamer, who had access recently to Rose Kennedy's daughters and granddaughters, is thorough and capable of analysis both pointed and sympathetic. But he does recycle large chunks of material so familiar it is almost possible to recite along, as if it were a Grimm fairy tale, and he often takes on an unintentionally funny tone of feminist outrage as he describes the various slights and scars suffered by his subjects. He also falls into old-fan-magazine language, saying that the Shrivers made a 'stunning couple,' that Joan was 'a woman of stunning beauty,' that Ethel made a 'spectacular bride' and that Kick had 'skin of creamy perfection.'

. . . Perhaps five years of research on the Kennedy women have given Mr. Leamer's prose the veneer of a romance novel."

KAYE, DANNY

Nobody's Fool: The Life of Danny Kaye. Martin Gottfried. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 352 pp. $24.00.

Reviewed by Desmond Ryan. *New York Times Book Review,* November 13, 1994: 57.

"Mr. Gottfried's biography spares no detail in establishing Kaye both as an entertainer cherished for being a comic genius and as an isolated, withdrawn egomaniac capable of selfish malice in matters great and small.

. . . Mr. Gottfried's relentless documentation of Kaye's weaknesses tends to detract from his book's main strength: measuring an artist whose prodigious and unique gifts defy classification."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REVIEWED ELSEWHERE

KHAN, GHAFFAR

The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History. M. S. Korejo. Karachi: Oxford UP, 1993. 258 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Paul Overby. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.3 (Aug. 1994): 973–74.

"This treatment of the Pashtun leader Ghaffar Khan looks past his most remarkable aspect, the fact that while preaching the gospel of Gandhi, he became the leader of a people almost universally described as warlike, and concentrates instead on the partition of India, a process in which he actually played a rather indeterminate role. . . .

Ghaffar was Gandhi's devoted disciple and perhaps his most powerful ally among the Muslims. . . .

For Korejo, Gandhi and Ghaffar are not evil plotters but hopeless idealists, wrecked on the shoals of real-world politics."

LANG, K. D.

k.d. lang: All You Get Is Me. Victoria Starr. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. 320 pp. $22.95.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* October 31, 1994: 115.

". . . it is in this voice of best girlfriend/wise child that Starr tracks the thirty-two-year-old singer's rise from local performance artist to world-famous role model and heir to the mantle of the great Patsy Cline (long one of lang's musical obsessions). Despite the author's creepy intrusiveness, it is amusing to read of lang's early performances and her struggle to protect her fearless honesty in the face of managers and publicists."

LENIN, VLADIMIR

Lenin: A New Biography. Dmitri Volkogonov. New York: Free Press, 1994. 529 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by William Taubman. *New York Times Book Review,* November 13, 1994: 11–12.

"The efficient editor-translator, Harold Shulman, cut out much in the Russian original that would seem old news to Western readers, but a great deal (especially the relentless unmasking of Communist hypocrisy and cant) remains.

. . . Scholars and others who wish to know more about the documents that are the heart of the book will be frustrated by maddening minimal footnotes frequently containing neither the title nor the date of the material, just index numbers for inaccessible sources like the presidential and K. G. B. archives.

. . . Still, these and other shortcomings pale before Mr. Volkogonov's contribution. Despite the author's labors, Lenin will still have champions, but after this book their task will be much more daunting."

LOWELL, ROBERT

Lost Puritan: A Life of Robert Lowell. Paul Mariani. New York: Norton, 1994. 527 pp. $27.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by David Bromwich. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 3 & 40–42.

"Many of Lowell's close friends talked to Mr. [Ian] Hamilton, so his ['Robert Lowell'] was almost an 'authorized' life, influenced but not entirely shaped by curatorial decencies.

Paul Mariani's 'Lost Puritan' is a longer book, supported by less firsthand testimony. Its additions to the story come from the author's greater readiness to publish what can be found in archival sources: letters to and from Lowell and diaries by or about him. Mr. Mariani cites a number of anecdotes and judgments of Lowell omitted by Mr. Hamilton, and he gives a fuller picture of Lowell's marriage to Jean Stafford; he tells more of her side of the story, frequently in her words. He quotes, too, more liberally from contemporaries who knew Robert Lowell without much liking him."

MATTHEWS, ROBERT

The Kingdom of Matthias. Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 240 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Allen Boyer. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 18.

"Mr. Johnson, who teaches history at the University of Utah, and Mr. Wilentz, who teaches history at Princeton, tell this story with zest and insight, from its origins in social unrest to its echoes in American literature. Skillfully, they hold back for one last very significant detail: a final bombshell on the early career of Sojourner Truth, who played her own murky role in Matthias's kingdom."

MAUPERTUIS

Maupertuis: An Intellectual Biography. David Beeson. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 299. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1992. 304 pp.

Reviewed by Ann Thomson. *French Studies* 48.2 (Apr. 1994): 208.

"An intellectual biography is a difficult undertaking, especially in the case of an author like Maupertuis, whose intellectual production was extremely varied. Here David Beeson has emphatically put the emphasis on *intellectual,* as the biographical details are reduced to a minimum, although Beeson has extensively used his unpublished correspondence. . . . This work provides a very well-balanced analysis of Maupertuis's contribution to the different scientific problems he studies. . . . All in all this is an extremely welcome study which attempts, not a rehabilitation, but an objective analysis of Maupertuis's work and its importance in the science of his time."

THE MILLER FAMILY

In the Best of Families: The Anatomy of a True Tragedy. Dennis McDougal. New York: Warner, 1994. 352 pp. $21.95.

Reviewed by Glenna Whitley. *New York Times Book Review,* October 2, 1994: 32.

"Mr. McDougal, a former reporter at the *Los Angeles Times,* thoroughly documents Marguerite Miller's obsessive brand of mothering—rigid, controlling, domineering, all wrapped in a soft-spoken package. The author had no access to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

anyone close to the family, and the book jumps around without a coherent line of narrative. And though Mr. McDougal tries to connect the Miller family's tragedy in some way to Ronald Reagan, who is never seen or heard from in the book except in a condolence phone call, the effort falls flat."

MONTAIGNE

Michel de Montaigne. Madeleine Lazard. Paris: Fayard, 1992. 430 pp.

Reviewed anonymously. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 94.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1994): 267.

"This well-written book, both well-documented and clear, knows how to interest the reader. . . . It is an excellent introduction to the reading of the *Essais.*"

MORE, THOMAS

Thomas More: un homme pour toutes les saisons. Germain Marc'hadour. Paris: Editions Ouvrières, 1992. 112 pp. FF 80.

Reviewed by Marie-Madeleine Martinet. *Etudes Anglaises* July–Sept. 1994: 325–26.

The main interest of the book is to show the ramifications of More's thoughts on diverse subjects, especially literary and religious, and to point out how he objected to simplifications, to a static view of truth, to choices implying exclusion (e.g., faith alone or Scripture alone). For the author, More's capacity for synthesis defines the real "catholic spirit," which does not divide but reconciles, and testifies to the richness of his mind.

NEWHOUSE, S. I.

Newhouse: All the Glitter, Power, and Glory of America's Richest Media Empire and the Secretive Man Behind It. Thomas Maier. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. 446 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Walter Goodman. *New York Times Book Review,* October 16, 1994: 9–11.

"Mr. Maier, a reporter for *New York Newsday,* has evidently read everything Nexised under the name Newhouse and talked to everybody who would talk to him, which did not include his subject, who 'never responded to a written request for an interview.' Since others also inclined to be circumspect about a figure whose power, Mr. Maier does not let us forget, inspires fear in people who depend or would like to depend on one of his properties for a livelihood, 'Newhouse' often seems to be slugging away at a shadow. . . .

It is a long and long-winded book. The organization compels repetition, the prose does not engage, the anecdotes rarely entertain, the jeremiads seem borrowed."

NIXON, RICHARD M.

The Nixon Memo. Political Respectability, Russia and the Press. Marvin Kalb. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994. 248 pp. $19.95.

Nixon Reconsidered. Jean Hoff. New York: Basic, 1994. 475 pp. $30.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Richard Norton Smith. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 9.

"Admittedly treating only a small part of the Nixon phenomenon, 'The Nixon Memo' illustrates just how difficult historians will find it to heed President Clinton's wish, expressed at Nixon's funeral last April, that they stop 'judging President Nixon on anything less than his entire life and career.'"

"In 'Nixon Reconsidered' process crowds out personality. So instead of biographical context that might enable readers to grasp the cultural and emotional bond between Nixon and the not-so-silent majority he rallied to his side, we get eye-glazing accounts of White House policy toward American Indians, and of turf wars between the Council on Economic Policy and the Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy. Nixon himself exists as largely an extension of his staff, or else as an inevitable byproduct of the cold war tensions. That the siege mentality might have reflected Nixon's complex and driven character is barely acknowledged."

ONASSIS, JACQUELINE KENNEDY

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis: A Portrait of her Private Years. Lester David. New York: Birch Lane/Carol, 1994. 242 pp. $19.95.

Reviewed by Maureen Dowd. *New York Times Book Review,* October 9, 1994: 3 & 27–31.

"Mr. David says he wants to tell the story of 'Mrs. Onassis, who in her maturity was not the same woman she was in her youth.' There is not much new here, except that Mr. David tries to be more forthcoming about his subject's flaws."

PARRINGTON, V. L.

V. L. Parrington: Through the Avenue of Art. H. Lark Hall. Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 1994. $39.00.

Reviewed by Patricia O'Connell. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 49.

"Making judicious use of Parrington's diaries, correspondence and other unpublished materials, H. Lark Hall, a lecturer in English at the University of Pennsylvania, moves beyond the scholarly display of some of her subject's more commonplace observations in her biography, 'V. L. Parrington: Through the Avenue of Art.' And despite the confusing accretion of detail that mars the book's opening chapter, Ms. Hall has done an admirable job of illuminating the professional and personal sides of this original thinker."

PHILIP II OF SPAIN

Philippe II. Ivan Cloulas. Paris: Fayard, 1992. 706 pp. FF 180.

Reviewed by M. N. Baudouin-Matuszek. *Revue Historique* 585 (Jan.–Mar. 1993): 229–31.

We are shown how faith, personal traits, and the tools bequeathed by his predecessors combined in Philip to make Spain (with great support from his subjects)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a catholic fortress and a religious dictatorship. Every aspect of this long reign, rich in political setbacks and family griefs, is envisaged; the emergence and crystallization of the essence of Spanishness in the XVIth century is made palpable; and the whole is based on considerable documentation and written in a lively style.

PRESLEY, ELVIS

Last Train to Memphis: The Rise of Elvis Presley. Peter Guralnick. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994. 560 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Stephen Wright. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 1 & 18–21.

"... this extraordinary, crucial life has found in Peter Guralnick a teller worthy of the tale. 'Last Train to Memphis' is a meticulous marshaling of the facts, which rush from Presley's birth in 1935 in Tupelo, Miss., to September 1958, when Private Presley is anxiously awaiting his departure for an Army posting in Germany. There is hardly a dull moment in the trip."

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* October 31, 1994: 114.

"Guralnick is the paramount historian of American vernacular music; he writes about blues, country, R. & B., soul, and rockabilly with the curiosity and delight of a teenager tearing the shrink-wrap off a new record. The present volume—a five-hundred-page biography of Elvis Presley which ends in 1958, when the singer ships out to Germany at the height of his fame—is the product of more than a decade's research, and it nearly maxes out on detail. It's impossible, however, to imagine a finer book on the subject, as the familiar course from Tupelo to Graceland is plotted with observant social and cultural history."

ROSENBAUM, JAY

And They Shall Be My People: An American Rabbi and His Congregation. Paul Wilkes. New York: Atlantic Monthly, 1994. 348 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Edward Hirsch. *New York Times Book Review,* October 30, 1994: 26.

"In effective but somewhat affectless prose, the author recounts a year spent in the orbit of a 42-year-old Conservative rabbi and his midsize congregation of middle- and upper-middle-class Jews in Worcester, Mass. He laces his account with statistics (Jews represent a meager 2.5 percent of the American population; approximately two-thirds are unaffiliated with any synagogue) and explains how the Conservative movement, whose motto is 'tradition and change,' attempts to steer a middle course between Orthodox and Reform Judaism, clinging to traditional practices—including the extensive use of Hebrew for religious services—while exposing itself to transforming innovations. The heart of his book is the story of a community acting out the dilemma and contradictions of its dual identity."

THE ROOSEVELTS

No Ordinary Time. Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Home Front in World War II. Doris Kearns Goodwin. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. 759 pp. $30.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by David M. Kennedy. *New York Times Book Review,* September 11, 1994: 9–11.

"[The] shuttling between public events and the innermost lives of her principals is at once a weakness and a strength of Ms. Goodwin's book. At times it threatens to submerge the sublime in the ridiculous, and the narrative snaps suddenly back and forth from historical documentation to salacious soap opera. But for the most part, the biographical technique serves her well. It yields exceptionally readable accounts of such potentially numbing subjects as wartime tax reform and labor disputes, and enlivens her analysis of topics ranging from military strategy, race relations, and women's changing employment patterns to controversies over refugee policy and civilian versus military claims on economic production."

ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES

The Noble Savage: Jean-Jacques Rousseau 1754–1762. Maurice Cranston. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991. 399 pp.

Reviewed by R. Trousson. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 94.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1994): 318–19.

"This is the second volume of the vast biography devoted to Rousseau by Maurice Cranston." The reviewer stresses the "great value of this volume as a mine of sure information and a handy work of reference."

ROY, MARIE-ANNA

Marie-Anna Roy: Une Voix Solitaire. Paul Genuist in collaboration with Monique Genuist. Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Editions des Plaines, 1992. 178 pp. $22.95 (Can.).

Reviewed by Carrol F. Coates. *French Review* 67.6 (May 1994): 1080–81.

Marie Anna Adile Roy (1896–1979) was the older sister of Gabrielle Roy.

RUSSELL, GEORGE

Charmer: A Ladies' Man and His Victims. Jack Olsen. New York: William Morrow, 1994. 367 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by David Heilbroner. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 28.

"There are places, however, where 'Charmer' veers off course. Mr. Russell and his crimes remain enigmatic to the end—in part, I suspect, because he refused any meaningful interview. (Mr. Olsen's one brief encounter with Mr. Russell is described in the book's epilogue.)

. . . Happily, though, these rough spots are few and confined to the book's opening sections. Once past these stumbles, 'Charmer' picks up speed and, like fine *cinema vérité,* mesmerizes us with the sense of watching real life, unaugmented, move before our eyes."

SALOMON, CHARLOTTE

To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era. Mary L. Felstiner. New York: HarperCollins, 1994. 280 pp. $27.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Peter Gay. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 11–12.

"'To Paint Her Life' fulfills its contract with the reader. But whoever really wants the experience of Charlotte Salomon should resort to the catalogue of 1981, a truly stunning work. Charlotte Salomon's best biographer remains Charlotte Salomon."

SCHENKHUIZEN, MARGUÉRITE

Memoirs of an Indo Woman: Twentieth-Century Life in the East Indies and Abroad. Marguérite Schenkhuizen. Athens, OH: Center for International Studies, Ohio U, 1993. 286 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Pauline D. Milone. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.2 (Aug. 1994): 1020–22.

"These memoirs, written by the author when she was 83 years old, seem at first merely an informative autobiography intended for circulation among the restricted, intimate circle of family members and friends whose names are mentioned throughout the memoirs. However, the reader gradually becomes aware of the author's broader purpose: she wishes that her descendants will share her and other Indos' love of their country of origin and know what sets Indo people apart.

The memoirs incorporate much cultural information on the elements that made Indo life such a rich amalgam of aristocratic Dutch and Indonesian lifestyles. . . . To a certain extent, the memoirs also reflect the more pragmatic, forthright, and optimistic culture of East Java, distinct from the formalism, and premium on self-control of Central Java.

. . . she speaks of the advantage her skin color afforded her during the Japanese occupation, when light-skinned Dutch women were interned."

SEGREST, MAB

Memoir of a Race Traitor. Mab Segrest. Boston: South End, 1994. 290 pp. $14.00.

Reviewed by Beth Harrison. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 16–17.

"Segrest's personal history is . . . the most successful part of the memoir. The portraits of her mother and father are particularly revealing of her alienation from and final acceptance of her upbringing in Tuskegee, Alabama. . . . [T]he 'documentary' parts of her memoir are not as probing and poignant as the part that concerns her family."

SEJONG, KING

King Sejong the Great: The Light of 15th Century Korea. Young-Key Kim-Renaud, ed. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, International Circle of Korean Linguistics, 1992. 119 pp. $19.95.

Reviewed by Chin W. Kim. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.3 (Aug. 1994): 955–56.

"This book is an 'introduction to the achievements of King Sejong' for 'the general English-speaking public.' . . . The language is lucid and non-technical, footnotes are held to a minimum, and sixty-seven plates and charts add much pleasure to the reading.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The book consists of an elegant introduction by the editor and fourteen articles, each four to five pages long on the average, dealing with Sejong's accomplishments and with those of his contemporary scholars.

. . . minor faults . . . are easily outweighed by the beautiful design and content of the book. A reader might argue with the statement that 'the first half of the fifteenth century in Korea' has 'very few parallels in the world,' but s/he cannot but agree with the editor that 'King Sejong stands out among all the kings who are called "The Great" in history.' At the least, the book should dispel any suspicion that the extraordinary amount of homage that Koreans heap upon him is a form of self-praise driven by nationalistic zeal."

SEXTON, ANNE

Searching for Mercy Street: My Journey Back to My Mother, Anne Sexton. Linda Grant Sexton. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994. $22.95.

Reviewed by Michael Vincent Miller. *New York Times Book Review,* November 20, 1994: 11–12.

" 'Searching for Mercy Street' is never less than fascinating although the quality of Ms. Sexton's writing is highly uneven. Some passages are moving; others are pure Gothic melodrama; still others seem an unnecessary invasion of privacy."

SHACKLEY, TED

Blond Ghost: Ted Shackley and the CIA's Crusades. David Corn. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 509 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Joseph Finder. *New York Times Book Review,* October 23, 1994: 22.

This volume "is a scorchingly critical account of an enigmatic figure who for two decades ran some of the agency's most important, and most controversial, covert operations."

SHOSTAKOVICH, DIMITRI

Shostakovich: A Life Remembered. Elizabeth Wilson. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994. 550 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* October 31, 1994: 114.

"The author, an English cellist who studied with Rostropovich in Moscow, has gathered numerous recollections of Shostakovich and organized them into an enormous biography that follows every step of his life beginning with his aunt's account of his birth, in St. Petersburg in 1906. Together, these diverse sources provide a mosaic portrait of a shy, fidgety, punctilious musician."

SKINNER, B. F.

B. F. Skinner: A Life. Daniel W. Bjork. New York: Basic, 1993. 298 pp. $25.00.

B. F. Skinner: A Reappraisal. Marc N. Richelle. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1993. 242 pp. $59.95.

Reviewed by John Staddon. *American Scientist* 82.6 (Nov.–Dec. 1994): 584–85.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Marc Richelle is a distinguished Belgian psychologist with experimental and personal credentials for a book on Skinner. He argues that the conventional picture of behaviorism is a caricature: Skinner was never a believer in 'stimulus-response conditioning,' for example. Like many other followers of Skinner (and Skinner himself, when he was alive), Richelle believes that Skinner has been consistently misunderstood.

Richelle's book is about Skinner's ideas, not his life. Daniel Bjork's book is a biography of the man. If Skinner's ideas seem strange to many, Skinner the man will not seem less so."

SPOSITO, LYNNE SHERRY

Mississippi Mud: A True Story From a Corner of the Deep South. Edward Humes. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 364 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Joy Maron. *New York Times Book Review,* October 16, 1994: 21.

"Lynne Sposito's transformation from average housewife to avenging nemesis reads like a well-constructed mystery novel, and Edward Humes's lucid and unadorned prose admirably suits this complex story of venality and betrayal."

STAGER, BARBARA

Before He Wakes: A True Story of Money, Marriage, Sex, and Murder. Jerry Bledsoe. Dutton, 1994. $22.50.

Reviewed by Keith Dixon. *New York Times Book Review,* October 2, 1994: 32.

"'Before He Wakes' is a shocking and well-written portrait of a dangerous woman who failed to avoid the law the second time."

STALIN, JOSEF

Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956. David Holloway. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994. 464 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Priscilla Johnson McMillan. *New York Times Book Review,* October 2, 1994: 1 & 18–21.

"'Stalin and the Bomb' is a prodigious book. Mr. Holloway has plowed through the new sources available in Russia, turning up fresh insights into the cold war, and, even more, into the conditions of intellectual life in Stalin's Russia. This study is a work of the largest scale, one that advances our understanding and is likely to remain definitive for years to come."

STEAD, CHRISTINA

Christina Stead: A Biography. Hazel Rowley. New York: Henry Holt, 1994. 646 pp. $37.50.

Reviewed by Michael Upchurch. *New York Times Book Review,* October 2, 1994: 3 & 41.

"The challenge for any would-be biographer is to establish the books' importance and relation to one another; to give a sense of the historical backgrounds and personalities from which Stead drew her inspiration and to portray the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

woman herself, a task complicated by the fact that Stead burned many of her personal papers late in her life.

Hazel Rowley, who was born in England and educated in Australia and is now a resident scholar at the University of Texas, meets the challenge splendidly on all three counts. Juggling a vast amount of detail, her biography of Christina Stead is a model of clarity. Ms. Rowley's shrewd selectivity and handling of anecdote make the book compellingly readable."

STEELE, ESTHER

Esther: Her Murder Haunts a Small Town in Oklahoma. Leonard Sanders. New York: John McCrae/Holt, 1994. $22.50.

Reviewed by Toni L. Kamins. *New York Times Book Review,* October 2, 1994: 32.

"With painstaking detail, Mr. Sanders, a novelist, takes the reader through the murder, investigation and the trial and conviction of the two men accused of killing Steele. But he doesn't stop there; he examines the homicide's broader effects. Nobody had ever been murdered in Granite. After the crime, the townsfolk were forced to look not only at the victim but at themselves."

STEINBECK, JOHN

John Steinbeck: A Biography. Jay Parini. London: Heinemann, 1994. 614 pp. £20.

Reviewed anonymously. *The Economist* 331, no. 7859 (April 16, 1994): 96.

"Although his biographer shrinks from ramming the message home, it emerges only too plainly from these 600–odd pages that the author of 'The Grapes of Wrath' and 'East of Eden' became in the final years of his life the sort of man he himself used most to despise.

. . . Mr. Parini is wholly convincing when he argues that few authors have written such a diversity of novels and stories, working in a range of forms from realistic fiction to fantasy to satire to musical comedy.

The book is all the more impressive for sticking to an unfashionable chronological format. This approach helps keep biographers honest."

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS

Dear Stevenson: Letters from Andrew Lang to Robert Louis Stevenson with Five Letters from Stevenson to Lang. Marysa Demoor, ed. Louvain: Peeters, 1990. 164 pp.

Reviewed by Jean-Pierre Naugrette. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 346–47.

Andrew Lang, a close friend of Robert Louis Stevenson and one of the best critics of his works, was plainspoken when writing to him, not hesitating to level reproaches at him. Yet a deep tenderness filters through his letters, and one understand Lang's deep sorrow at his friend's death in 1894—a hundred years ago.

STOSSLOVA, KAMILA (see "Janacek, Leos")

THOMAS, M. CAREY

The Power and the Passion of M. Carey Thomas. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. New York: Knopf, 1994. $30.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Diane Ravitch. *New York Times Book Review,* October 16, 1994: 34.

"Ms. Horowitz proves that the new style of historical biography is infinitely superior to the genteel discretion favored by earlier historians. She gives us a complex portrait of a woman whose public life was often heroic, whose politics were a mixture of progressivism and snobbery and whose private life was more exciting than anything in the soaps. By tearing away the veil of privacy from one important person, she also sheds light on a network of other remarkable, venturesome women who defied convention to construct independent lives."

TOLSTOY, LEO AND SONYA

Love and Hatred: The Troubled Marriage of Leo and Sonya Tolstoy. William L. Shirer. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994. 404 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Clare Cavanaugh. *New York Times Book Review,* July 24, 1994: 7.

"This is an engrossing story, and when Shirer concentrates his attention on the marriage, his book frequently makes for involving reading. The time and care that went into its research clearly did not extend, however, to the writing of the book itself. Much of it reads like an early draft rather than a finished manuscript."

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC, HENRI

Toulouse-Lautrec: A Life. Julia Frey. New York: Viking, 1994. 595 pp. $34.95.

Reviewed by James Mellow. *New York Times Book Review,* December 4, 1994: 11 & 18.

"Ms. Frey, a Yale-trained scholar of 19th-century French literature and culture, who teaches at the University of Colorado, has drawn from a large cache of recently available family correspondence that includes the letters written by Lautrec's parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, Lautrec's own correspondence (published in 1992 by the French publisher Gallimard) and his unpublished letters, which are still in the possession of Toulouse-Lautrec's heirs. All of these afford us a remarkable, in-depth look at the life of the French aristocracy in its relationships with the lower classes, and Ms. Frey gives the reader as comprehensive and vivifying an account of the artistic world of Paris as one would want to have."

TROTSKY, LEON

The Trotsky Reappraisal. T. Brotherstone and P. Dukes, eds. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1992. 250 pp. $42.50.

Reviewed by Sylvain Bensidoun. *Revue Historique* 585 (Jan.–Mar. 1993): 249–50.

This book is the outcome of a symposium which took place in Aberdeen in 1990 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky. The papers bring out several facets of the man: the creator of the Red Army, the political thinker, the brilliant orator, and the opponent, the man who knew how to refuse. Naturally, a complete biography will be possible only when the Russian archives can be consulted; then, the Aberdeen contribution will carry its full weight.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VORONTSOV, PRINCE MICHAEL

Prince Michael Vorontsov, Viceroy to the Tsar. A. L. H. Rhinelander. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1990. 270 pp.

Reviewed by Sylvain Bensidoun. *Revue Historique* 585 (Jan.–Mar. 1993): 234–36.

After a liberal English education (his father was Russia's ambassador in London), Michael Vorontsov had to reconcile his philosophy of Enlightenment with his faithfulness to the Russian Crown. In his successive functions, especially in New Russia and in the Caucasus, he displayed authority, intelligence, and tolerance to turn his reformist convictions into reality. The tsar raised him to the dignity of Marshall for his services when his health obliged him to resign.

WACHTLER, SOL

Double Life: The Shattering Affair Between Chief Judge Sol Wachtler and Socialite Joy Silverman. Linda Wolfe. New York: Pocket Books, 1994. 286 pp. $22.00.

Reviewed by Maureen Dowd. *New York Times Book Review,* August 28, 1994: 5.

"Ms. Wolfe is a pedestrian writer who promotes clauses to sentences, and whose analysis runs to cliché. . . . But the flatness of her account is mitigated by the inherent fascination of the story."

THE WAGNERS

Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival. Frederic Spotts. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994. 334 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Michael Turner. *New York Times Book Review,* June 26, 1994: 23.

"Mr. Spotts, a former American Foreign Service officer now associated with the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, is as reliable a guide as we shall ever have. There are many pertinent illustrations, placed appropriately in the text. There is the occasional error. . . . Otherwise, Mr. Spotts is sane, trustworthy and continually absorbing. And there are innumerable incidental pieces of information that fascinate."

WALLACE, GEORGE

George Wallace: American Populist. Stephen Lesher. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994. 587 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* June 6, 1994: 99.

"Lesher, who covered the sometimes racist Alabama governor for the Montgomery *Advertiser* and for *Newsweek,* and has had his cooperation, argues that Wallace wanted to improve the lot of the working and lower-middle classes and was a genuinely constructive governor."

WHARTON, EDITH

No Gifts From Chance: A Biography of Edith Wharton. Shari Benstock. New York: Scribner's, 1994. 546 pp. $28.00.

Reviewed by Greg Johnson. *New York Times Book Review,* August 14, 1994: 29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Just as Edith Wharton lived out her career in the shadow of Henry James's larger reputation, 'No Gifts From Chance' cannot escape comparison with the Lewis biography, which although nearly two decades old, remains definitive, and is a far more stylish and satisfying book. On the other hand, there is always room for numerous biographical accounts of the writer's genius. With its exhaustive documentation and its energetic narration of a complex life, Ms. Benstock's study is certainly a welcome addition to the Wharton shelf."

WICHITWATHAKAN, LUANG

Luang Wichit Wathakan and the Creation of a Thai Identity. Scott Barmé. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993. 201 pp. $19.00.

Reviewed by Thongchai Winichakul. *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.3 (August 1994): 985–86.

"This is the first book in English that deals extensively with this significant thinker, writer, artist, and politician [Luang Wichitwathakan (1898–1963), also known as Wichit].

Overall the book reaffirms the centrality of Wichit's official nationalism in the construction of Thai identity since his time up to the present. Barmé's description is impressive and his analysis rich in information never before available in English. Surveying a history of ideas through the works and career of an influential figure is an old-fashioned but useful approach. It allows us to appreciate Wichit's works in their immediate contexts better than studies that analyze his body of work textually rather than historically.

The story of Wichit's career and politics makes enjoyable reading. The author writes well, so Wichit's life, ambitions, ambivalence, arrogance, workaholism, and so on, can be felt."

WILDE, OSCAR

The Stranger Wilde: Interpreting Oscar. Gary Schmidgall. New York: Abrahams-Dutton, 1994. 400 pp. $25.95.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker*, June 13, 1994: 107.

"Though Schmidgall mentions Richard Ellmann's recent biography infrequently, and always respectfully, he has clearly set out to provide an alternative to its rather sober Wilde. This book, a cocktail of gossip and criticism, is chiefly concerned with the sexual Wilde—the promiscuous, flamboyant, mocking, preening egoist whose stunning peripeteia was the source of such great schadenfreude for respectable Britons. . . . It is easy enough to understand Schmidgall's hero worship, for Wilde was one of the great personalities of his century, and this complement to earlier biographies is good to have."

WILSON, EDWARD O.

Naturalist. Edward O. Wilson. Washington, D.C.: Shearwater, 1994. 380 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Harry W. Greene. *Science* 266, no. 5188 (18 November 1994): 1261–62.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"I often recommend Watson's book [*The Double Helix*] to students so that they too will ponder the roles greed and fame might play in their careers. Now with *Naturalist* we can contemplate the proud and candid autobiography of another great biologist.

Heavily influenced by teachers in early life, Wilson is especially pleased to later repay their own children with kindness. He feels strongly about motives and values ('There is no finer sight on green Earth than a defeated bully.')

At a time when the practice and role of science are under increasing scrutiny, Edward O. Wilson's stunning autobiography warrants widespread attention."

WINCHELL, WALTER

Winchell: Gossip, Power and the Culture of Celebrity. Neal Gabler. New York: Knopf, 1994. 681 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Frank Rich. *New York Times Book Review,* October 23, 1994: 3 & 31–33.

"So how does Winchell justify a book that runs well over 500 pages, plus footnotes? Very easily, as it turns out. Not only is there far more page-turning drama to Winchell's life than anyone might have thought, but, as imaginatively written and authoritatively reported by Neal Gabler, his biography tells a much larger story that could not be more timely."

WISE, ISAAC MAYER

Isaac Mayer Wise: Shaping American Judaism. Sefton D. Temkin. New York: Oxford UP, 1992. 318 pp. $45.00.

Reviewed by Beth S. Wenger. *Journal of American History* 81.1 (June 1994): 264–65.

"Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900), the chief architect of Reform Judaism in America, remains one of the most complex and least understood American Jewish leaders.

Sefton D. Temkin, who has devoted a lifetime to studying his subject, has produced the fourth biography of Isaac Mayer Wise. . . . [Although] Temkin describes Wise's character traits and their impact upon his public career . . . he does not attempt to utilize new methodologies in writing biography and psychobiography. Because of Wise's complex personality, a more nuanced examination of his life, his relationship with his family, and his psychological makeup might have enhanced the portrait of this complicated man."

WODEHOUSE, P. G.

Hello Plum! Autobiographie en digressions. Tr. Béatrice Verne. Paris: Anatolia, 1992. 290 pp. FF 129.

Reviewed by Alain Blayac. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 351.

The last volume of P. G. Wodehouse's autobiography, published in 1957 under the title *Over Seventy,* appears here in a French version. In spite of his unshakable good humor, his airy vitality, and his systematic habit of calling the reader to witness about the validity of the most unforeseeable moves, P. G. Wodehouse,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the "Autobiography in (preposterous) digressions," does not write as felicitously about himself as in his fiction. For ardent admirers only.

YADIN, YIGAEL

A Prophet From Amongst You, The Life of Yigael Yadin: Soldier, Scholar, and Mythmaker of Modern Israel. Neil Asher Silberman. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994. 400 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Susan Shapiro. *New York Times Book Review,* August 28, 1994: 516.

"Neil Asher Silberman, an archaeologist and the author of *Digging for God and Country,* is a respectful and careful chronicler. *A Prophet From Amongst You* adeptly delineates all three of Yadin's careers—in military affairs, biblical archaeology and politics."

Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Related Interest

ANTHROPOLOGY AND "OTHERS"

In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place. Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993. 304 pp. $49.50 hardcover, $14.95 paper.

Reviewed by Indira Karamcheti. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 7–8.

"... both Tsing, as a woman traveling alone, and the women travelers whose stories she tells, are primarily understood by strangers as sexual bodies. . . . The most interesting, because the most disturbing, of her reflections upon her position as woman, as someone from the more highly privileged West and as professional anthropologist, also comes in the form of a story: the story of Induan Amar's baby. . . . [S]upposedly non-fictional ethnography is constructed as a *ménage à trois*—the reader, the anthropologist-narrator and those spoken for."

BLACK PROFESSIONALS

I've Known Rivers: Lives of Loss and Liberation. Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994. 654 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Mitchell Duneier. *New York Times Book Review,* November 13, 1994: 69.

"Ms. Lawrence-Lightfoot has produced an invigorating and inspiring human document that adds depth to contemporary understanding of the plight of the black professional class."

ENGLISH ACTRESSES

The First English Actresses: Women and Drama. Elizabeth Howe. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. 226 pp. £12.95.

Reviewed by Anne-Marie Imbert. *Etudes Anglaises,* July–Sept. 1994: 333–34.

Although verging at times on feminist criticism (e.g., somewhat isolating women's lives from their time), this little book is well balanced and trustworthy on the conditions of the stage in 1660. It also analyzes the plays containing female

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

roles and generally all that concerns the most illustrious actresses, like Mrs. Barry and Mrs. Bracegirdle. The work does not contain many revelations, but does have a bibliography and an index, and is written for all readers, from Congreve specialists to ordinary theatre lovers.

GERMAN WOMEN

Daughters of Eve: Women's Writing from the German Democratic Republic. Nancy Lukens and Dorothy Rosenberg (tr. and ed.). Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1993. 329 pp. $40.00 hardcover, $14.95 paper.

Gender, Patriarchy, and Feminism in the Third Reich: The Response of Women Writers. Elaine Martin, ed. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1993. 309 pp. $39.95 hardcover, $9.95 paper.

Making Bodies, Making History: Feminism and German Identity. Leslie A. Adelson. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1993. 197 pp. $25.00 hardcover.

Reviewed by Angelika Bammer. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 25-26.

"Like *Daughters of Eve* and *Gender, Patriarchy, and Feminism,* Adelson's book turns on a notion of individual agency: what is it, where does it reside, how can we mobilize it toward politically emancipatory ends? In Adelson's view, agency refers to a set of possibilities and exigencies mapped onto the particularity of a specific person's body in a specific place at a specific time. In its attempt to model a way for feminist thought to 'negotiate between the rock of feminist essentialism, which universalizes women's oppression, and the hard places of poststructuralist undecidability. . . . These three books approach the category 'woman' from alternative routes: Martin inserts it into a particular time period of German history; Lukens and Rosenberg give it substance of experience in story form; Adelson supplies a set of theoretical screens through which history, experience and story can be viewed in relation to a particular woman's choices."

MEDIEVAL LIVES

Medieval Lives: Eight Charismatic Men and Women of the Middle Ages. Norman F. Cantor. New York: HarperCollins, 1994. 224 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by David Walton. *New York Times Book Review,* July 24, 1994: 18.

"Norman F. Cantor, the author of 'The Civilization of the Middle Ages' and 'Inventing the Middle Ages,' takes another look at the period in 'Medieval Lives,' this time by offering portraits of eight dynamic figures. . . . The scenes he devises, though sometimes wooden and talky, compress a surprising amount of medieval ideology and social history into a readable and engaging format."

MEXICAN LIVES

Mexican Lives. Judith Adler Hellman. New York: New Press, 1994. 244 pp. $27.95.

Reviewed by Martha Brandt. *New York Times Book Review,* July 31, 1994: 16.

"Ms. Hellman, a professor of social and political science at York University in Toronto, has tried to cram too much textbook information around the words of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

her subjects, with the result that their voice sometimes appear thin. However, in light of recent political revolt and assassination in Mexico, her book goes a long way toward explaining why a country where burros share the streets with luxury cars will not speed into modernity."

RUSSIAN WOMEN

Women's Glasnost v. Naglost: Stopping Russian Backlash. Talyana Mamonova with the Assistance of Chandra Niles Folsom. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1994. 184 pp. $49.95.

Reviewed by Mary F. Zirin. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 24.

"*Women's Glasnost v. Naglost* is a mixed bag. Mamonova's introductory survey of the situation in Russia is followed by a section called 'Russian Women Speak Out,' seventeen interviews conducted 'by mail, fax, and phone, as well as in person,' and a second section, 'Mamonova on Women and Glasnost,' comprising five articles adapted from speeches. . . . The interviews in *Women's Glasnost v. Naglost* form the bulk of the book. They are commendable for giving women, most of whom have lived both in the ex-USSR and abroad, a chance to share their views and experiences with American readers."

UTOPIAN WOMEN'S COMMUNITIES

Women in Spiritual Communitarian Societies in the United States. Wendy E. Chmielewski, Louis J. Kern, and Marlyn Klee-Hartzell, eds. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1993. 275 pp. $39.95 hardcover, $17.95 paper.

This Strange Society of Women: Reading the Letters and Lives of the Women's Commonwealth. Sally Kitch. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1993. 391 pp. $39.50.

Reviewed by Ann Braude. *Women's Review of Books* 11.9 (June 1994): 6–7.

"[*Women*] is a set of experiments in reorganizing gender that we can look to like laboratory experiments. Which strategies worked? Which backfired? . . . The authors . . . all want to know whether communal societies have offered women a better life. . . . Five . . . essays concern the Shakers . . . ten include both well-known nineteenth-century groups like Brooke Farm and longer-lived but less studied twentieth-century groups like The Farm and Twin Oaks. An especially welcome innovation is . . . a first-hand account of growing up during the 1950's . . . Ruth Baer Lambach's . . . 'Colony Girl: A Huttite Childhood.'

Kitch "offers the reader both the thrills and the frustrations of discovering a trunk of letters in the attic. [She] is at her best in her vivid evocations of the individual correspondents. We meet the indomitable Martha White McWhirter, founder and charismatic leader of the Women's Commonwealth. . . . Other portraits introduce us to prodigal daughters who could not live up to the community's moral standards [and] a half-dozen loyal and loving community members, and the daughters they brought with them who formed the second—and last—generation of the Women's Commonwealth."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Notes on Contributors

Frank Donoghue ("Laurence Sterne and the Fantasy of Individual Patronage") is an Associate Professor of English at Ohio State University. His book, *The Fame Machine: Book Reviewing and Eighteenth-Century Literary Careers,* is forthcoming from Stanford University Press.

George M. Johnson ("'The Caged Skylark': A Psychobiographical Portrait of G. M. Hopkins") teaches English literature at the University College of the Cariboo. He has published papers on Virginia Woolf's response to psychological ideas, and the psychology of literary history. He is the editor of two forthcoming volumes of the Dictionary of Literary Biography (Detroit: Gale) on British Novelists 1890–1918 and 1919–1939, and he is currently writing a biography of Georgian novelist J. D. Beresford for Twayne.

Valerie Sanders (Review of Amigoni, *Victorian Biography*) is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Buckingham.

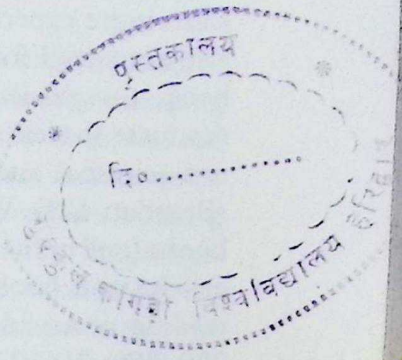
Richard L. Warms ("Africa Real, Africa Ideal: A. Gordon Laing and the Noble Savage") is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Southwest Texas State University. He has done research on Malian merchants and veterans of the *Tirailleurs Senegalais.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MARVIN RINTALA

Weber's Wilson: Living Off Political Science



Woodrow Wilson was one of the first successful—as well as one of the first—American political scientists. The external success of his political science career did not, however, give Wilson inner satisfaction. Political action, not political science, was his inner life. If he had not been as ignorant of Wilson's political science career as Wilson was of his, Max Weber could have explained Wilson's lack of inner satisfaction by applying the Weberian distinction between living off and living for one's work. Wilson lived only off, and not also for, political science. Neither teaching nor scholarly research had inherent value for Wilson, only instrumental value. Although Wilson eventually would not have regarded his political science career as a failure, because it led him to political leadership, this ultimate justification for his political science career would have been the basis for a harshly negative judgment by Weber.

A summary of Woodrow Wilson's career as a political scientist suggests substantial success. As a graduate student he greatly impressed his teachers, the most important of whom, Herbert Baxter Adams, always considered Wilson the ablest student he had ever taught (Bragdon 107). After graduate school, Wilson's first teaching appointment, at Bryn Mawr, a new but prestigious private college, indicated that he was regarded as having the highest academic promise (Bragdon 121). His later full-time faculty appointments were both also at prestigious, but long-established, private colleges—Wesleyan, and Princeton, his own undergradu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ate college. He understood, in accepting the last of these faculty appointments, that he was now widely regarded as a professional success.[1] For many years he also taught part-time, to much acclaim, at Johns Hopkins, his former graduate school.

Throughout his political science career Wilson was respected as a teacher, especially popular as a lecturer to undergraduates.[2] Even more experienced students praised his teaching. Wilson was also respected for his productivity as a scholarly writer. His first book, *Congressional Government,* published while he was still a graduate student, earned him an immediate reputation as a political scientist, and publishers were eager for more from his pen (Bragdon 121). Wilson obliged. Within seventeen years six more books (one in five volumes) appeared in print, as well as dozens of articles and book reviews. His books were assigned as required reading at a wide variety of colleges and universities (Haddow 200, 209, 214, 217). Few political scientists have been so prolific as authors, and Wilson's books generally sold well. One of them earned its author over forty thousand dollars before he left academic life (Bragdon 251, 455). His carefully prepared outside lectures were also lucrative. In 1900, for instance, these lectures and his other writings brought in more than $7,000 (Walworth 65n).

By the time he left political science Wilson had long been acknowledged as one of the leading American scholarly authorities in the field (Bell 6, Rogin 564). Even without subsequent success as a political leader, his fame as a political scientist would have been secure (Sorauf 112). As a scholar he had won "brilliant and unquestioned rank" (Perry 157–58). The honorary degrees, the first of which was awarded when he was thirty years old, were already numerous. Recognition of his scholarly standing was not confined to the United States. His books were published abroad in translation. He had achieved a degree of distinction in academic life seldom equaled (George and George 24).

Wilson nevertheless chose to leave political science. Professional success as a political scientist was not enough for him; he wanted more, or at least something else. He may have left political science with few regrets, especially if his career was less successful than a summary suggests. Although many professors may not grasp it, a professional vita is not in fact a life, or even a career (Gerstl 48). An expanded version of Wilson's vita is needed to understand fully whether, and how, his political science career was a success. Since the degree of success may have been situa-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tional, the academic situations in which Wilson worked need to be clarified. During his time as a political scientist, "the college world" was, as Wilson perceived, "professionally my world" (*Papers* 6: 412), and his institutional settings were the context in which he experienced that world. Since in academic life alpha often determines omega, it is with Wilson's political scientific training that his expanded vita should begin.

In the spring of 1883, when Wilson decided to become a political scientist, American college faculties were finally emerging from rustic amateurism to at least some semblance of specialized competence. Faculty specialization meant more faculty jobs. Between 1883 and 1913 the number of faculty members working in American higher education tripled (Stricker 242). Specialization also meant faculty members needed a deeper kind of knowledge than had earlier been deemed adequate. Graduate training in a specialized field of study was becoming for the first time a substantial advantage in the quest for professorships. One common way for an American to receive specialized graduate training was to go to a German university (Haddow 171–72; Somit and Tanenhaus, *Development of Political Science* 7–8, 15–16). That way was closed for Wilson, as he recognized, because of his "ignorance of German" (*Papers* 3: 26). Wilson's choice of the Johns Hopkins University for graduate study in political science was therefore eminently sensible. Johns Hopkins not only was the first university in America to be based on the German model, it also had the best graduate school (Hofstadter and Metzger 377; Bell 7). The faculty was distinguished and his gifted fellow graduate students provided Wilson both stimulus and an audience. Challenged by both his teachers and fellow students, he learned more at Johns Hopkins than he ever had before, and probably ever would again. Wilson's academic achievement in graduate school rose far above his mediocre undergraduate performance at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and in law school courses at the University of Virginia (Bragdon 121, 47, 421, 70).

Johns Hopkins made Wilson a professional political scientist. John Morton Blum's claim that Wilson did not learn much there is exaggerated (16). That he did not learn as much as he could—and perhaps should—have is doubtless true. His reading in the history of political thought was especially limited, although that may have been at least partly because, as his fellow student John Dewey noted, his teachers did not push philosophy (Dykhuizen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

105). Wilson read little outside the British liberal tradition (broadly defined), and within that tradition, his choice of Walter Bagehot, a minor Victorian writer, as his "master" was not promising (Baker, "Youth" 202). Although close personal observation of political life might have offset gaps in Wilson's reading, he did not engage in this. He understood the need for firsthand observation of institutions, but it did not seem to bother him that while writing *Congressional Government* he did not even visit Washington.[3] Nor did he suffer from overwork at Johns Hopkins, laboring no more than six hours a day (*Papers* 3: 503).

In spite of his intellectual growth there, Wilson was not happy at Johns Hopkins. He thought his situation was not good enough for him. He was deeply disappointed in the quality of teaching in his department, which was not "what I had a right to expect" (*Papers* 2: 586; 3: 25). Wilson's judgments of his teachers were harsh. He saw them as "men of rather small calibre" (*Papers* 2: 568). Richard T. Ely, who unsuccessfully tried to get Wilson to understand political economy, was "not fitted" to teach (Baker, "Youth" 179). Since neither Wilson's gifts nor his interests were in economics, Ely may have faced an impossible teaching task (Diamond 34n, 35). Herbert Baxter Adams, who with great success got Wilson to understand political institutions, was "superficial and insincere, no worker and a selfish schemer" whose inadequacies merited repeated condemnation (*Papers* 2: 586, 552; 3: 26). Wilson was certainly unjust to Adams, who had received his doctorate summa cum laude from the Political Science Faculty of Heidelberg University, after having studied under Heinrich von Treitschke in both Heidelberg and Berlin. One of Adams' doctoral examiners was Karl Knies, much respected by another former student, Max Weber, who eventually succeeded Knies on the Heidelberg faculty (Vincent 103–04; Hughes 293, 300, 303; Käsler 9). Adams' students became as distinguished as his teachers, partly because he ceaselessly prodded those students to do their best work (Holt 14). This he certainly accomplished with Wilson, which is probably why Wilson so disliked him. Growth was painful, and Wilson's youthful indolence was substantial.

Whatever he thought of them, Ely and Adams were Wilson's major teachers. He had little choice but to do mostly as they said, in view of his priorities, which were "to advertise myself for a position (as well as to learn what I could)." His parenthesis is revealing. It was necessary "to please the professors and get them

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to push me. . . . I hate this thing of serving other men; but it's politic; and the service is honourable" (*Papers* 3: 36). Honorable or not, Wilson's service paid off. His teachers at Johns Hopkins kept their part of the bargain. They got him his first teaching job, and his second as well (Bragdon 145, 200).

Securing the first job was more difficult, since it involved placement of a candidate who had never taught a class. Furthermore, Wilson did not yet have a doctorate, and had not even declared formal candidacy when he entered the academic labor market. Bryn Mawr College became known as "Johanna Hopkins" because of hiring patterns typified by Wilson's case. Martha Carey Thomas, chief creator of Bryn Mawr, was the daughter of one of Johns Hopkins' first trustees (Ryan 17). Adams, who put a new pin on his wall map whenever one of his students was placed in what now became an Adams colony, successfully pushed his favorite student with Carey Thomas (Holt 6). However improbably, Wilson became a founding faculty member at Bryn Mawr, and the only one who had not earned a doctorate (Bragdon 145). Only after he learned at Bryn Mawr that he would not be promoted without a doctorate did he declare formal candidacy at Johns Hopkins, asking his former teachers "for a special consideration of my case" (*Papers* 5: 151). In those less bureaucratic, and perhaps less professional, days, Adams immediately responded that he and Ely would examine Wilson for a doctorate, adding "We understand the case and you may rest assured that it will be successfully tried." It was, and *Congressional Government,* already published, was accepted as a doctoral dissertation (*Papers* 5: 154–56). Clearly Wilson viewed himself as special, and the Johns Hopkins University agreed. Perhaps he was.

Though, as Wilson acknowledged, his first academic employer treated him as well as his graduate school, he was, nevertheless, even less happy at Bryn Mawr (*Papers* 5: 407). Indeed, "I hate the place very cordially" (Baker, "Youth" 292). One reason for this hatred was that Wilson abhorred being supervised by a female dean (George and George 25). This supervision may have been somewhat of a surprise to him. Upon first meeting Carey Thomas he had assumed she would be the disciplinary dean of students and therefore he "would not be under a woman" (*Papers* 3: 499) This assumption soon proved incorrect.

Wilson also intensely disliked teaching women students. He repeatedly told his correspondents that teaching women relaxed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his "mental muscle," and he found in his classes at Bryn Mawr "a painful *absenteeism* of mind on the part of the audience" (*Papers* 5: 626, 633, 619). If Wilson's students were bored it was probably with cause. His students were his audience. He taught almost entirely by well-prepared lecture, including in meetings with the one graduate student he was assigned each year (Mulder 92). He did not welcome questions in class, perhaps because he was "scandalized" whenever women spoke in public (Bragdon 150; *Papers* 3: 389). He expected docility from his female students, but complained when he got it, and generally was ill suited to teaching women, who understood the condescension with which he approached the task for which he was being paid (Bragdon 150–52).

Dissatisfied as he was at Bryn Mawr, Wilson reluctantly declined offers of a professorship in history at Indiana University and the chancellorship of the Nashville Normal School (Bragdon 156; *Papers* 5: 154, 508). Neither offer was in political science, and neither was geographically attractive. These refusals do not, however, indicate lack of labor market activity on Wilson's part while at Bryn Mawr. He sought appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, an office for which he had neither qualifications nor influential supporters (Bragdon 159). More realistically, he worked hard at maintaining and creating private relationships with powerful persons at both his former college and graduate school. Knowing the importance of public opinion Wilson also kept in sight and sound of several significant publics, almost endlessly giving speeches. In one of those speeches his ambition caused him to slip badly and almost fall: during a supposedly jocular after-dinner speech to fellow alumni at Princeton, he asked for establishment of a chair whose occupant could only be himself (*Papers* 5: 137–41).

Wilson's only acceptable opportunity to flee Bryn Mawr eventually came in the generous offer of an endowed chair at Wesleyan University. The salary offered Wilson—$2,000—was about 5 percent of Wesleyan's total annual income. The chair, which had been vacant for three years, had just been rejected by two other products of graduate study at Johns Hopkins, Albert Shaw and John Franklin Jameson (Bragdon 162–64; Donnan and Stock 45). Wilson accepted Wesleyan's offer immediately, motivated by the fact that "I have for a long time been hungry for a class of *men*" (Baker, "Youth" 295).[4] But as he told his closest friend of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his acceptance of Wesleyan's offer, Wilson made it clear he was open to future offers from elsewhere: "I have engaged for no definite term whatever" (*Papers* 5: 764).

This may have been true at Wesleyan. It was not true at Bryn Mawr. When Wilson announced his impending departure, the president of Bryn Mawr was aghast (Bragdon 161). Wesleyan's offer to Wilson had been made in June, and Wilson still had two years to go on a three-year contract. The college and Wilson disagreed over his contractual obligations and whether he had given late notice of his resignation. Since in 1888 the American Association of University Professors had not yet been created, let alone set standards for professional conduct in contractual matters, Wilson had no professional advocate or guidance. When Bryn Mawr tried to hold Wilson to its interpretation of his contractual responsibilities and Wilson sought legal advice, Bryn Mawr backed down. Wilson argued that Bryn Mawr had violated its contractual obligations to him by not hiring another faculty member to share in his teaching duties. There was such a clause in his contract, but after it the president of Bryn Mawr, in his own hand, had inserted the phrase "as soon as practicable," though when this addition was made is unclear (*Papers* 5: 468, 747). Since both Wilson's and Bryn Mawr's copies of two relevant letters from Wilson to the president are missing and probably no longer exist, the issue will probably never be resolved.

Wilson had never felt any particular obligation to Bryn Mawr. Although he never confessed to any lack of rectitude in the manner of his leaving, perhaps he should have confessed at least to a lack of rectitude in the manner of his going there (Bragdon 161). In March 1885, after he had already signed on at Bryn Mawr for the coming September, he learned he was being considered for a job (which did not materialize) at the University of Michigan. Wilson privately wondered whether his new Bryn Mawr contract "could be annulled" (*Papers* 4: 331). His eventual departure made Wilson persona non grata at Bryn Mawr (Mulder 101). He became the only president of the United States not invited to speak at a commencement during Carey Thomas's long leadership of the college (Meigs 49), and in 1912 she had the pleasure of publicly endorsing Theodore Roosevelt (Kendall 132).

Wilson preferred Wesleyan to Bryn Mawr, but he was not entirely happy even in his new situation. That Wesleyan was only a way station was no matter of chance. In public appearances

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

elsewhere Wilson did not try too hard to identify himself with his new employer (Bragdon 163, 185; *Papers* 6: 241, 675). From his perspective there were two major disadvantages to Wesleyan. The first involved his students there. He was pleased not to be teaching women any longer, but teaching the men at Wesleyan did not give him much pleasure, either. He found "the class of students here is very inferior in point of preparatory culture—comes from a parentage, for the most part, of narrow circumstances and of correspondingly narrow thought" (*Papers* 8: 658; 6: 841). This statement suggests that Wilson was a snob. He saw his students, furthermore, in terms of who they were, not what they could learn, and even who they were was determined by where they came from, not where they were going. Finally, this statement was surely distinctive in viewing secondary education in New England (home to most Wesleyan students) as inferior to that in the rest of the United States. His geographical bias became explicit when Wilson further referred to "New Eng. narrowness in political study" (*Papers* 6: 841). Translated, this meant the male students at Wesleyan did not see the world as Professor Wilson saw it, any more than had the pioneering female students at Bryn Mawr. That his students should see the world as he did Wilson did not doubt.

That wealthy young men from outside New England were not common at Wesleyan was not Wilson's only problem there. His second major difficulty was that Wesleyan remained true to its name, and Wilson was a Calvinist. Sectarian differences were still strong among American Protestants. Wilson's Calvinism placed him outside the power structure at Wesleyan. When Wilson's Presbyterian clergyman uncle learned that his favorite nephew had accepted Wesleyan's offer, he hastened to object in unecumenical language (*Papers* 5: 761). Wesleyan was, as Wilson told the *Hartford Evening Post,* a sort of mother among Methodist colleges, and he was, as that newspaper added, "out of the religious trend of the college; that is, he is not a member of the Methodist church" (*Papers* 6: 454). There would be no significant administrative track for Wilson at Wesleyan, any more than there would have been at Bryn Mawr. Again he felt larger than his opportunity (George and George 27).

Wilson's frustration was not sufficient, however, for him to accept an offer from Williams College (*Papers* 6: 454–57, 462; Walworth 52). Neither after his first year at Wesleyan did he accept a July 1889 offer from the College of New Jersey (formally

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

renamed Princeton on 22 October 1896). Having aroused hostility earlier on the issue of late notice, Wilson declined to treat Wesleyan as he had treated Bryn Mawr (Bragdon 185–86). He was prepared to wait for a well-timed offer from the College of New Jersey, which he was confident would come, largely because of the strategic skills of his campaign manager, Robert Bridges, who had been his college classmate there and remained his closest friend. Wilson's academic career owed much to Bridges, as the debtor conceded to the creditor (*Papers* 6: 524).[5] Bridges' moves at the College of New Jersey were superb. Wilson could soon, on 13 February 1890, record in his diary: "Elected to chair of Jurisprudence and Political Economy, Princeton" (*Papers* 6: 523).

This was certainly an unusual combination of teaching responsibilities. It was also unrepresentative of Wilson's gifts and interests. He was absorbed by politics, not law, and he had not learned, or wanted to know, much more about economics since his studies with Richard T. Ely. Wilson's triumphant diary entry added: "Salary, $3,000. Promise that within 2 yrs. Political Economy be erected into separate chair and I be left with *Public Law* only" (*Papers* 6: 523). This salary was not only five hundred dollars less than Wilson had expected, but it was no more than he was already earning at Wesleyan. Whether there had been the "promise" he recorded is uncertain, and if there was, it was not honored. Under these circumstances there was, as Wilson conceded, only one argument for going to Princeton—that it was Princeton (*Papers* 6: 528). Wesleyan lost out, but Wilson's manners in leaving Wesleyan were much better than they had been when leaving Bryn Mawr. His later relations with Wesleyan were so cordial that when, in 1903, the university celebrated the two hundredth birthday of John Wesley, Wilson gave the main speech (Bragdon 187).[6] In private, however, Wilson continued to make unkind remarks about both Methodism and New England, which he lumped together, presumably because his only New England experience was at Wesleyan, which was also the only Methodist institution he knew well (*Papers* 10: 559). Wesleyan changed him as little as Bryn Mawr. Methodist equalitarianism at Wesleyan appealed to him as little as feminism or Quaker pacifism had at Bryn Mawr. He looked forward to Princeton, "where the very best cultured class of students go" (*Papers* 6: 623).

Wilson's relations with Wesleyan after his resignation may have been better than with his new employer. Though he thought that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Princeton had the best students, he did not believe it had the very best cultured president. Earlier, having heard the Reverend Francis L. Patton preach a sermon, Wilson had referred to him as the "colourless, disagreeable Dr. Patton" (*Papers* 3: 138). The accuracy of the latter adjective was to be richly demonstrated. President Patton's letter offering Wilson a Princeton professorship set the tone for Wilson's years in his new faculty position. The president referred to Wilson's newly published *The State,* its author's greatest scholarly achievement, but neither congratulated Wilson upon its publication nor offered any praise for the book. Getting right to the heart of his matter, Patton told Wilson that in discussing the origin of the state "you minimise the supernatural, & make such unqualified application of the doctrine of naturalistic evolution." The president emphasized that Princeton would continue to stand on "the old ground of loyalty to the Christian religion." Lest this be not sufficiently pointed, Patton declared that he expected "the high topics" dealt with by Wilson and those faculty "contiguous" to him would be "dealt with under theistic and Christian presuppositions" without any inappropriate "conception of academic freedom" (*Papers* 6: 527). Other than on his apparent distinction between Christianity and theism, Patton had made himself perfectly clear. Though Wilson may have been surprised by the bluntness of the president's language, the substance was hardly a surprise. Like the trustworthy campaign manager he was, Robert Bridges had already warned his candidate of whispers in Princeton that Wilson was "a little heterodox (shades of Calvin and Witherspoon protect us)" (*Papers* 6: 411).

Even if Bridges and Patton had not written to him, Wilson was fully aware of the conflict over evolution then dividing Presbyterians in America. His clergyman uncle, who had earned a doctorate at Heidelberg University, had recently been dismissed as Professor of Natural Science in Connection with Revelation at the Columbia (South Carolina) Theological Seminary because of his acceptance of evolution (Eaton). James Woodrow's nephew also accepted evolution (*Papers* 3: 217), but apparently he did not respond directly to Patton's criticism of *The State.* Wilson understood that through Patton traditional Calvinist values still dominated Princeton. Wilson was learning when to keep silent, especially when the future was likely to be on his side. It is unlikely Wilson knew enough about natural science to make a meaningful case for evolution, and there was also the fact, as he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fully understood, that while the content of his own religious faith was not traditionalist, his practice of that faith was (*Papers* 6: 462).

The warning from Patton foreshadowed Wilson's most difficult moment as a member of the faculty of Princeton University. That moment came in a battle over religious diversity. Wilson was determined to bring to the Princeton history faculty Frederick Jackson Turner, his graduate student at Johns Hopkins, whose frontier hypothesis had been significantly influenced by his teacher.[7] The Princeton offerings in history were weak, as Wilson claimed, and Turner's would have been a glittering appointment indeed (*Papers* 10: 271). After receiving administrative authorization, Wilson realized a stalling action had begun. That Turner was a Unitarian had become widely known, and this knowledge proved unpalatable to many powerful persons at Princeton. One of them was Professor of Latin Andrew Fleming West. In a diary entry dated 21 January 1897 Wilson recorded an "interview with West, in wh. he showed the most stubborn prejudice about introducing a Unitarian into the Faculty" (*Papers* 10: 120).[8] Another of Turner's opponents was President Patton. At first Wilson thought the delay was caused by the president's indolence (*Papers* 10: 78), but he was eventually mortified to realize that Patton had in fact decided the matter, and had determined to offer no appointment to Turner, whose Unitarian beliefs had proved fatal to his candidacy at Princeton (*Papers* 12: 290).[9] Wilson wrote to Patton that he was "deeply hurt" by having been "treated like an employee rather than a colleague." Wilson's language to the chairman of the most powerful Princeton trustees' committee was equally direct. When this trustee tried to mollify Wilson, the latter accused the president of having lied. The trustees threw Wilson as a consolation prize an honorary degree, which he apparently never accepted. The conflict over Turner brought Wilson close to the breaking point with Princeton. At its peak he privately decided to resign from the Princeton faculty if Turner were not appointed, but as he told Turner, he had no current job offer.[10]

There had been offers before, but Wilson had then lacked incentive to leave Princeton. Offers would also come later, but then Wilson would have a very specific reason for not leaving. Throughout the 1890s Wilson's name was often mentioned when an important college or university position became vacant (Walworth 63). In 1892 he was offered the presidency of the Univer-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sity of Illinois, which he declined as least partly because the students at Illinois were "male *and female*. Several of the faculty are women, too." The blunt fact was: "I am not at all in sympathy with co-education." Wilson, however, used the Illinois offer to gain a substantial raise in his Princeton salary, making him its highest-paid faculty member (*Papers* 7: 601, 608, 616, 611, 630; 10: 497).

The Illinois offer had been a "compliment" to Wilson (*Papers* 7: 633). A later offer of the first presidency (replacing collective faculty leadership) of the University of Virginia was his "highest honor" (*Papers* 10: 482, 489, 523). Wilson was certainly tempted to accept. Not only was the University of Virginia prestigious in his eyes, but the offer came only a year after he had burned his fingers if not his bridges at Princeton over Turner. Everyone concerned realized that Wilson's chances of leaving were much greater in this case than in most others. Patton understood this, and therefore did as little as possible, claiming he did not know what more could be done to keep Wilson at Princeton. Patton used as his excuse for inaction the fact that Wilson had not bothered to inform him personally of the offer from Virginia. Wilson eventually told Patton the reason for this omission was that Wilson knew there was nothing the Princeton trustees could do (*Papers* 10: 496, 499, 528).

This statement was disingenuous. The time of open covenants openly arrived at had not yet come. There was in fact something some trustees could do that the president would not do. Wilson had immediately reported the offer from Virginia to several wealthy and influential Princeton alumni, some of whom were also trustees. Their response was all Wilson hoped it would be. Cyrus McCormick, Jr., told him "Princeton cannot afford to lose you" (*Papers* 10: 519). These alumni could see to it that Princeton did not lose Wilson, and at least as importantly, that Wilson did not lose Princeton. McCormick understood Wilson's desire "to help us all in building up and completing the splendid structure of Princeton University," which already included loyal alumni and an able faculty. For McCormick, the alumni came first and the faculty second. He did not include as one of Princeton's strengths its president. There was no need to make explicit to Wilson how this missing part of Princeton's structure could be constructed. Wilson in turn understood that "This is the time of alumni *power*" (*Papers* 10: 519). Neither McCormick nor Wilson

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would have thought of mentioning students as part of Princeton's structure.

Wilson declined Virginia's offer. In exchange, private financial arrangements were agreed upon and then formalized in a legal agreement signed 30 April 1898 by Woodrow Wilson and eight other Princeton alumni.[11] Wilson agreed that for five years he would neither leave Princeton nor teach part-time elsewhere. His eight alumni supporters agreed to pay him annually certain sums of money outside his Princeton salary (*Papers* 10: 529–30). This contract was honored by both parties. Shortly before Christmas 1898, for instance, Wilson received a check for $2,500 (*Papers* 10: 530; 11: 91). That year his faculty salary was $4,410, which came from occupying a chair endowed in 1896 with $100,000 from the McCormick family (Bragdon 450; *Papers* 10: 264). By now the Wilson household included at least three servants, one of them a German governess (*Papers* 10: 372–73, 379, 389, 581). Wilson, in turn, declined to become a candidate for the presidency of the University of Virginia in 1899 and 1900, despite renewed expressions of interest.[12] He was also approached concerning the headship of the history department at the University of Chicago. Although Wilson's response no longer exists, it was doubtless negative. Not only was the job not in political science, nor geographically preferred, but Wilson also had strongly negative feelings about the University of Chicago (*Papers* 11: 535, 532). In 1901 he also declined to be considered for the presidency of the University of Alabama and of Williams College.[13]

In all these refusals, Wilson never referred to his secret contract with his alumni supporters. He did make oblique references to that contract in two other cases. He declined to be considered for the presidency of Washington and Lee University because of "obligations here which I do not feel at liberty to turn away from or disregard" (*Papers* 12: 70).[14] Far more revealing was his response to his most important job offer as a political scientist, to become Herbert Baxter Adams's successor upon his premature retirement, due to ill health, from the Johns Hopkins University faculty (Bragdon 123; *Papers* 12: 108). Wilson declined by return mail, rejecting the only opportunity he would have to create political science in America in his own image. Though his academic career coincided with the formative years of political science in America, Wilson left surprisingly few institutional tracks (Somit and Tanenhaus, *Development of Political Science* 3). Declining the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

offer from Johns Hopkins was probably the most important single reason for that lack of impact.

Repeating to Johns Hopkins the phrase he had used for Washington and Lee, Wilson sounded again as if he were a prisoner of his contract with his alumni supporters (*Papers* 12: 110). Secret contracts sometimes do have such a consequence: if Wilson felt constrained, he had consented to his imprisonment. *Pacta sunt servanda* was a principle he had learned since leaving Bryn Mawr. He had stayed at Princeton, rather than going to Virginia or Johns Hopkins, ostensibly to do what he now called his literary work. Wilson repeatedly referred to his intention to write a synthesis, tentatively titled *The Philosophy of Politics,* which would be, as he variously put it, his life-work, his *magnum opus,* or "the *Immortalia.*" In 1891, 1892, and 1895, Wilson outlined, differently each time, a table of contents. Beyond that virtually nothing happened with this project. The book was not only never completed, it was never begun. In 1895 Wilson told his wife that he would write it "only if I can't help it." Shortly before leaving political science six years later, he admitted he did not know what would be in such a book if it ever appeared.[15]

That *The Philosophy of Politics* never appeared may have been a blessing for Wilson's scholarly standing. The more books he wrote, the more his scholarship deteriorated (Link, *Wilson* 29–30). His earlier books placed, and still place, Wilson among the "American scholars of great stature" (Crick 25), but his later books occasioned, and still occasion, strongly negative judgments (Blum 19; Bragdon 242–43; Walworth 54). *Congressional Government* and *The State* were scholarly books that mattered. The first was written in the demanding and challenging atmosphere of graduate study at Johns Hopkins; the second had been thought out, largely for class lectures, at Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan. Nothing Wilson wrote while on the Princeton faculty rose to anywhere near their scholarly level, although not all his later work sank to the level of *Mere Literature and Other Essays.*

This essential abandonment of his scholarly writing would hardly have bothered Wilson's alumni supporters. They knew nothing of such things. Wilson did know, but it does not seem to have bothered him either. He had in fact stayed at Princeton not to write *The Philosophy of Politics,* but to await institutional developments there. His world now reduced to one institution, the man who was arguably the creator of the comparative study of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

politics in America had become a local, not a cosmopolitan. As he accurately predicted to Robert Bridges, his only professional distress would now come from the conditions under which Princeton was administered (*Papers* 10: 315). Even more remarkably, Wilson would now suffer in relative silence. The quest for truth had lost out to the quest for power. As long as Wilson had imagined himself elsewhere, he could, and did, speak out against local institutional inadequacies. Now, however, he did not have much to say when the Princeton faculty debated institutional reforms which he had previously advocated and President Patton had obstructed (Bragdon 275, 459; *Papers* 12: 291).

Wilson's silence proved useful. In 1902 Princeton alumni, led by those who had contracted with Wilson to keep him in Princeton's service, succeeded in forcing Patton's resignation. Wilson was immediately named Patton's successor, becoming the first lay president of Princeton (Hofstadter and Hardy 34; Hofstadter and Smith 2: 685). By not alienating Patton, whom he had long viewed as "a rum President" (*Papers* 8: 442), Wilson had not only gotten what he wanted, Princeton's presidency, but also what he needed, a peaceful, swift transition of presidential power. To avoid being succeeded by Andrew Fleming West, whom he now hated even more than Wilson, Patton, who had once hopefully described Wilson's gifts as nonadministrative, actually recommended him as his successor (*Papers* 10: 499; 12: 342–43, 401; Walworth 66; Wertenbaker 388). The trustees' vote for Wilson was therefore unanimous, a golden handshake from the trustees further mollified Patton, and only West was left unsatisfied.

With his selection as president Wilson's career as a political scientist ended (Somit and Tanenhaus, *Development of Political Science* 74–75). Wilson did not attend the founding meeting in 1903 of the American Political Science Association (APSA). Elected its First Vice-President, he declined so to serve (Haddow 262). That meeting was controlled by Columbia, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins (Furner 288). If Wilson had gone to the latter as Adams' successor he would have been part of the ruling troika. As president of Princeton, he had little desire to become a vice-president of anything, let alone an organization of political scientists. He also had always kept his distance from the first president of the new association, Frank J. Goodnow. Only prodding from a journal editor had once induced Wilson to make a favorable reference to Goodnow's writing (*Papers* 6: 57, 61, 69). The aloofness

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between Wilson and APSA continued until he was selected its sixth president, for 1910, the year he spent campaigning successfully for the governorship of New Jersey. He was never, as has been argued, "APSA leader Wilson," and he never wanted to be (Silva and Slaughter 228).

When he became president of Princeton Wilson nevertheless became a leader, instead of a student of leadership (Bragdon 266). Writing his inaugural address, he felt like a new prime minister preparing to address his constituents (Baker, "Princeton" 134). He was now in fact on the road to the White House (Link, *Wilson* vii). A few months before succeeding Patton, he had confessed to Turner, his most gifted former student, for whose cause he had almost, but not quite, left that road: "I was born a politician" (Baker, "Princeton" 120). Even an expanded discussion of his vita, however, does not fully answer the question: was Wilson's political science career part of what he felt he had been born to do, or only a detour? Perhaps where political science and politics meet, calling in an outside referee, the more distinguished the better, is appropriate.

Though Max Weber and Woodrow Wilson never met, they twice came close to meeting. In September 1904 both lectured at an international conference of scholars held in conjunction with the St. Louis World's Fair.[16] Weber's appearance was part of a leisurely, much enjoyed American tour. He had time for dinner with the governor of Missouri, and for trying out his inelegant but serviceable conversational English on many new American acquaintances. In contrast, immediately after giving his own lecture, the president of Princeton University rushed home, to open a new academic year (*Papers* 15: 434, 468–69, 491). His constituents awaited. At least for these two participants, this conference did not fulfill later claims that at it scholarly hands were joined across the sea.[17]

The second close call came at another international conference, this time in Paris in May 1919. Having given his own lecture, President Wilson once again was in a hurry to return home. This time, however, Professor Weber had not been invited by the organizers of the conference, but by Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, who had himself been invited only to the closing sessions. Not even official members of the German delegation were permitted to speak with any member of the conference except the conference chairman, Georges

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Clemenceau, and he had no desire to make introductions. Weber had come to Paris to help rebut the war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles, in a memorandum which became part of the lengthy German written protest delivered on 28 May 1919 to the Allied and Associated Powers (Mommsen 316–18; Schulz 185). There is no evidence that President Wilson ever read any part of this German protest, let alone Weber's contribution. He would not have recognized Weber's name, if he had heard or seen it. Wilson, who outlived Weber, quite likely died without having read anything by or about him.

That Weber's writings were not translated into English during Wilson's lifetime is not sufficient explanation for his ignorance of them. Wilson's youthful confession of ignorance of German had been truthful, but he eventually became able to read German-language scholarly works. While in graduate school he began the painfully slow process of teaching himself German. The Johns Hopkins requirements for a doctorate in political science included "absolutely" a reading knowledge of German, but this requirement does not seem to have been met by Wilson (*Papers* 3: 134–35; 4: 532, 719; 5: 163; Holt 11). While at Bryn Mawr he seriously considered, before his wife's pregnancy, living in Germany for up to three years to improve his grasp of both German language and politics (*Papers* 5: 385–86, 410–12, 416–17, 429, 433). He was never to set foot on German soil, but while writing *The State* he was able to draw readily on many German-language scholarly studies, and he also used German-language sources extensively in his pioneering writing on public administration (*Papers* 6: 245; Bragdon 173, 118). That writing awakened American political scientists to the need for systematic study of public administration, but the later writings of Weber, the greatest scholarly authority on bureaucracy, never caught Wilson's attention—a deficiency he shared with most American political scientists, who learned about Weber's work only from Central European scholarly refugees after 1933.[18]

More surprising than Wilson's ignorance of Weber was Weber's lack of reference to Wilson's scholarly work. Scholarship was Weber's full-time occupation. As a rentier he did not need to teach, and for most of his scholarly career he did not (Gerth and Mills 41, Weber 630). Further, comparing nations was at the heart of his political science. The range of Weber's erudition was hardly universal, as has been claimed (Shils 1), but breadth of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

knowledge was undoubtedly his greatest scholarly strength, and among the many things about which he had learned much was American society. As a schoolboy he was already interested in things American, and later he was among the first Imperial Germans to conclude that America mattered politically (Weber 49, Schulz 83). During his American tour, which he approached as a cultural anthropologist, he was a relatively sure-footed observer. His grasp of American parties, for instance, was solid political science (Gerth and Mills 107–11), and his observation of Calvinists in the United States provided important data for his sociology of religion (Bendix 67).[19] Only occasionally, as when he assumed the University of Chicago was Methodist, did he get American things wrong (Weber 289). What he learned about American higher education was generally to the point, and he respected many things he learned about its institutions. He might even have speculated that American faculty members were more competent than their German counterparts (Shils 25). The first movement of "Science as a Vocation" compares academic careers in Germany and America, in a way in which the American experience often seems more meaningful (Gerth and Mils 129–34).

And yet Weber apparently never read any scholarly writing by the first American political scientist to compare seriously American and European political institutions. Even when Wilson's *The State* was translated into German and published in Berlin and Leipzig in 1913, when its author was already president of the United States ("of North America," according to the review mentioned below), Weber apparently paid no notice. The 1914 review in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (38: 262–65) whose coeditor was Max Weber, was by Gustav Seidler, a Viennese scholar never close to him. Even after President Wilson in 1918 became the arbiter of Germany's future, Weber did not refer to Wilson's political science career, though he felt he knew enough to declare in a Munich speech of 4 November 1918: "It is the peculiar fate of the world that the first real ruler of the world should be a professor" (Weber 627).[20]

Weber was hardly thinking of Wilson when, shortly afterward, in his parallel lectures at Munich University on "Politics as a Vocation" and "Science as a Vocation," he described the true, charismatic political leader (Gerth and Mills 77–156; Parsons 361). These lectures, which followed from Weber's general perspectives on the sociology of professional work, are helpful in understanding Wilson's political science career.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The most important distinction Weber drew was between living for and living off one's work (Gerth and Mills 84–85). Living for one's work meant making work one's inner life. Living off one's work meant striving to make one's work a permanent source of income. Living for and off one's work were not mutually exclusive (Gerth and Mills 84). Weber understood that, unlike him, most professionals were not rentiers. He recognized that all professional workers without sufficient independent income would have to live off their work, but that would be disabling only if it was, or became, an end rather than a means. Living off one's work should have only instrumental value. Living for one's work should have inherent value. Only the latter creates a professional worker with a calling for his or her work.

Every profession, for Weber, had its distinctive kind of work. What will have inherent value depends on the kind of work involved. The distinctive situational characteristic of scientific careers was that a scientist must both teach and engage in scholarly research (Gerth and Mills 133). If Wilson lived for political science, both teaching and research would have had value for him. This was not the case. Teaching was not central to Wilson's life. Having just been successfully interviewed for his first academic job, Wilson assured his fiancee and himself "It is not my purpose . . . to spend my life in teaching" (*Papers* 3: 499). Though not his purpose, and not his entire life, Wilson did spend much of his life teaching. He never had a sabbatical leave, and he taught part-time for many years at Johns Hopkins in addition to his full-time teaching jobs. He continued teaching at Princeton even after he became its president (Spaeth 81), and also tried unsuccessfully to get gifted junior faculty members to emphasize teaching over research (Corwin 23). Teaching, however, seems to have given Wilson himself little pleasure. At Bryn Mawr he was already "weary of the plodding" of teaching undergraduates (Baker, "Youth" 292). He always taught courses, not students, and does not seem to have much liked or respected many—perhaps most—of his students.

But Wilson preferred teaching to research because research gave him even less pleasure. His great political science rival, A. Lawrence Lowell, was mistaken in claiming that Wilson lacked a scientific mind (Bragdon 137). As *Congressional Government* and *The State* demonstrated, Wilson was intellectually capable of doing research, and doing it well, but learning new things did not excite him. He lacked that passionate devotion to research which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Weber saw as a prerequisite to all meaningful scientific careers (E. Wilson 310; Gerth and Mills 135–36). Wilson himself conceded that he had "no patience for the tedious toil of what is known as 'research'" (*Papers* 4: 287). He considered too much learning a dangerous thing (*Papers* 3: 144), and if he himself was in no danger, it was because of a lack of desire, not a lack of scholarly intelligence. He himself believed that he was not a scholar, and he did not want to be one (*Papers* 8: 220).

When he became president of Princeton, Wilson dropped even the pretense of doing research. He did not personally revise the books he had already published, getting younger scholars to do the revisions when publishers wanted new editions of his books (Corwin 25). Only once is there evidence that Wilson personally got involved in a revision of an earlier book. In the autumn of 1918, as part of Edward Graham Elliott's revision of *The State*, Wilson deleted some earlier criticism of French politics and praise of German politics, including concerning the contribution of political scientists to the development of German institutions (*Papers* 51: 536–37).

Wilson never lived for political science. Life without it was possible and even preferable. Neither teaching nor research nor their combination could give sufficient meaning to his life. Political science had for Wilson only instrumental, not also inherent, value: he lived only off it, not also for it. Nor was wealth his highest value. Financial comfort came to him through political science, but that was not his goal. The search for wealth was as much a distraction from his real life as was the search for truth. If he wished he had inherited or married into wealth it was for the "free choice of work" that wealth would have allowed (*Papers* 4: 325). Such free choice would not have led to political science. His proudly proclaimed "*first*—primary—ambition and purpose" was "a *statesman's* career," and if in his youth he had had "independent means of support" he would "have tried to fight my way to predominant influence" (*Papers* 4: 287). When, in 1898, Professor Wilson finally did visit the Houses of Congress, he was flooded by "the old longing for public life," and that flood never abated (*Papers* 10: 375).[21]

Weber, who was often threatened by the same flood, would have understood how the search for power could give meaning to Wilson's life. That possibility is what "Politics as a Vocation" is about. Weber would also have understood Wilson's need to live

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

off another career while he sought power. A large part of "Politics as a Vocation" enumerates and evaluates for his student audience several eminently practical ways for aspirant political leaders to earn a living while seeking power.

Weber's suggestions, however, were not precisely suited to Wilson's situation. Journalism, for instance, often had instrumental career value for young politicians in Europe, where almost all newspapers were organs of one party or another. In America, newspapers were not much of a career path for politicians. In any event it is hard to see Wilson writing for the front page, although it is much easier to see him writing for an editorial page, as he had done almost endlessly for his undergraduate student newspaper. While in graduate school Wilson had served briefly, though without any special distinction, as a Baltimore correspondent for the *New York Evening Post* (*Papers* 3: 37, 42–44, 72–73, 123–25). Becoming what was then politely called a publicist, working for some middle-brow newspaper or magazine, might possibly have been an instrumental career for the young Wilson. Whether it would have led to his desired "predominant influence" is, however, doubtful.

Few occupations in America would have led in that direction. Though salaried positions within party organizations were common in Europe, becoming a party bureaucrat was difficult in America, where parties lacked structure. Wilson would surely have had serious career problems as a paid functionary of some party boss, although the prospect is enjoyable to contemplate. Becoming a salaried servant of the state was a commonly chosen road to political leadership in Europe, and increasingly in America, and in seeking appointment as Assistant Secretary of State Wilson attempted, unsuccessfully, to take this route to power. Weber would have condemned this attempt. For him bureaucratic experience was inappropriate preparation for political leadership, because a bureaucrat learned all the wrong behavior. Bureaucrats obey orders, political leaders give them (Gerth and Mills 95). From Weber's perspective, Wilson's political career may have been saved by his failure to win a clerkship in Washington.

Weber enumerated only one additional career path to political leadership: the legal profession. Although he did not tell his student audience, this was the road the youthful Weber had himself first traveled, until he was rejected for a lawyer's job in Bremen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Käsler 6–7, 11). Practicing law was in Wilson's youth (and much later as well) the most common road to leadership in American politics (Bell 7). This was the road Wilson also first took. After studying law in a desultory manner at the University of Virginia, he went into legal practice in Atlanta, but his year of practicing law proved disastrous (Link, *Wilson* 6–7). Virtually his only paying client was his mother; though he qualified to practice in federal court, he could pay only half the ten-dollar fee (Walworth 30–33). Wilson was clearly a failure as a lawyer, although his conclusion that he was "unfit for practice" was unjustified as well as uncharacteristic self-criticism (Link, *Wilson* 11n; *Papers* 2: 343). Career shifts often threaten self-esteem (Ginzberg 195). However, failing to achieve inherent values comes much closer to striking at the core of personal identity than does failure to achieve instrumental values, and for Wilson the legal profession too had only instrumental value. He had never intended to be "a mere lawyer" (*Papers* 2: 343). All he wanted from the law was to make his living from it while seeking no less than "a commanding influence" in American politics: "The profession I chose was politics; the profession I entered was the law. I entered the one because I thought it would lead to the other" (*Papers* 2: 567, 10, 500). Wilson could not afford to wait. When he discovered that he could not live off the law, he left it without ever looking back, and set out on "this other road," deciding to seek graduate training to qualify for a professorship (*Papers* 2: 358).

Twenty-six years old, Wilson was still living off his long-suffering parents and depended on his family for career advice and assistance. It was his uncle, the Reverend James Woodrow, who first suggested to Wilson the possibility of graduate study at Johns Hopkins (*Papers* 2: 316–17, 319). When Wilson applied (unsuccessfully) for a graduate fellowship at Johns Hopkins his referees included not only his uncle but also his father (*Papers* 2: 339). There was some confusion as to what the applicant would study. That political science would win out was far from certain. His uncle recommended Wilson for a fellowship in the English department (*Papers* 2: 324n). Wilson had in fact been seriously considering that possibility, and later sometimes saw himself as a literary critic (*Papers* 2: 336; 5: 474–75). English lost out, however, and Wilson finally chose political science. He assumed, as he continued to do in graduate school, that teaching jobs could readily be found in the expanding field of political science (*Papers*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2: 339; 4: 328). In approaching both Johns Hopkins and his nonfamilial referees he spoke confidently of his "natural bent" for political science. He gilded the lily so far as to claim that "ever since the first years of my college course" his "favorite exercise" had been "the study of political science" (*Papers* 2: 336–39). This claim would have surprised his college teachers. Wilson's undergraduate grades in political science courses had been even less impressive than his overall academic achievement (Bragdon 420). His best work had been in the courses that interested him, and his political science courses had not (George and George 17). If political science was Wilson's vocation, it came relatively late.

Wilson finally chose political science because it allowed him to teach and write about politics. He thought in fact that his specialized field of study should be called "politics" rather than "political science," because "politics" could not be studied scientifically without being robbed of use and significance, which were crucial to Wilson's political science (W. Wilson, "Law and the Facts" 10-11; *Papers* 6: 615). There was for him no clear distinction between academic study of politics and political action. Political scientists and politicians—at least those identified with the "new statesmanship"—were "engaged in a common enterprise"; Wilson thought they shared the same goal, even though he never clearly defined it. He believed that the role of political scientists was to furnish "the statesmanship of thought" to aid "the statesman of action" (W. Wilson, "Law and the Facts" 8–9). As a political scientist Wilson accepted that assignment (*Papers* 5: 389).

Even this degree of functional distinction, however, tended to collapse in Wilson's political science. Only persons who had studied politics should engage in political leadership. One course was not enough; no one could be a "statesman of action" without spending a lifetime "in the study of the great science of government" (*Papers* 2: 269). Apparently there could be a science of government, if not political science. Political careers were for full-time professionals, not lawyers engaging in part-time political practice, and those political professionals included, for Wilson, political scientists (*Papers* 2: 273). Consequently, just as politicians should study politics, those who study politics should engage in political activity. A political scientist should be a "man of the world" as well as a "man of books"; political scientists should "themselves convert men to a saving doctrine" (Papers 5: 399). Wilson, however, did not explicitly identify in his scholarly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

writings which doctrine would bring political salvation. His focus was on institutions, not ideologies.

In his scholarly research Wilson hoped to "*see* as a statesman," and therefore write with "the highest authority" on politics (*Papers* 4: 305; 2: 358). In his teaching he hoped to fill his students with "worthy purposes" (Baker, "Youth" 186–87). Teaching was for Wilson preaching, but the content of the sermon was by no means certain—except that the "worthy purposes" would be secular, not those of traditional religion. His political science was not Calvinist. It was intended to serve the state, not a church, let alone the Kirk. As the latter's defender, President Patton, had been correct in attacking *The State* as a secularized work. In what may have been his most explicit response to Patton's attack, in his sketchy notes for *The Philosophy of Politics,* Wilson recorded his intention to discuss "The Laws of Ethics, as developed independently of Revelation" (*Papers* 9: 129). That science would not have its own ethic in his synthesis was also clear from those notes: "The higher education should be made an ally of the state" (*Papers* 9: 131). This alliance would not be of equal partners. Well along in his political science career, all of which was spent in private institutions of higher learning, Wilson believed "A university should be an organ of memory for the State for the transmission of its best traditions" (*Papers* 8: 589). The "best traditions" were doubtless the "worthy purposes" and perhaps even the "saving doctrine."

Heinrich von Treitschke, teacher of Herbert Baxter Adams, would have applauded here, but his most famous student would not. For Weber, Treitschke was dangerous precisely because he was the leading German practitioner of propagandistic political science.[22] Weber saw intellectual freedom as the highest of values (Weber 120). Because he understood that his own "most crucial inner need is intellectual integrity," he would have rejected Wilson's political science and Wilson's "other road" to political leadership (Scaff 140). For Weber political science was not a permissible road to political leadership. He would have judged Wilson's political science career as negatively as Wilson judged his own brief legal career.

Weber's reasons for reaching this judgment would have flowed from both empirical and ethical considerations. Empirically political science and political leadership were different kinds of professional work, and would therefore likely be engaged, and excelled,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in by persons with different qualities (Gerth and Mills 150). The improbability of double competence in political science and political leadership was accepted by Wilson, who, however, clearly viewed himself as a special case (*Papers* 5: 389; W. Wilson, *Mere Literature* 74). Since for Weber scientists and politicians could both have charisma and therefore be called to their respective work, it would, if improbable, not be impossible for one person to have two different gifts of grace (Liebersohn 123).

At this point Weber's ethical objection to Wilson's political science career would have been raised. Confusing political leadership and political science corrupts the latter. The presence of prescriptive notions in scientific work was for Weber "the work of the devil" (Käsler 188). Probably because his audience was mostly students, he did not waste much energy in "Science as a Vocation" attacking the corruption of scholarly research by politics. His heaviest ammunition was here reserved for the corruption of teaching by politics. For him teaching was not preaching. Affirming the value of science was a precondition for teaching, as much as it was for research (Gerth and Mills 152). Partisan teaching was irresponsible exploitation of powerless students by powerful teachers. The latter should not impose or imprint upon students any political position, explicitly or implicitly. This was even more of an ethical imperative in political science than in other sciences (Gerth and Mills 145–46). That Wilson used political science as his road to political leadership would have been the fatal flaw in Weber's Wilson, but for Wilson himself, that the road from Baltimore to Paris was so circuitous would have been his major complaint about his political scientific career. However, the traveler did reach Paris, justifying for him the road taken. Living off political science had paid off.

NOTES

1. Link, *Papers of Woodrow Wilson* 6: 554 (hereafter *Papers*).
2. On Wilson's popularity as a teacher, see Bragdon 242; Harper 2; Perry 157; Price 162; *Papers* 10: 402; Mulder 10; and *Papers* 5: 724.
3. *Papers* 3: 223; Baker, "Youth" 217–18; Crick 204; E. Wilson 307; *Papers* 3: 630.
4. Since Wilson had been negotiating with Wesleyan for only one week, an official history of Wesleyan was in error in reporting "It was President Beach who secured Woodrow Wilson's promise to come to Wesleyan on the faculty,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

though this engagement could not be fulfilled until 1888, shortly before President Raymond came to Wesleyan" (Price 145). John Wesley Beach had been removed from the Wesleyan presidency three years before Wilson was first approached about teaching there (*Papers* 6: 557n).

5. For a sketch of Bridges' attitude towards Wilson, see Kennedy and Reeves 2: 801–05. For information related to Bridges' efforts, see Link, *Wilson* 23; *Papers* 5: 634, 767; 6: 12, 330, 332, 356, 359–61, 363–64, 410–14, 427–31, 528–30, 546; Walworth 51.
6. For the speech itself, "John Wesley's Place in History," see *Papers* 14: 502–15.
7. See Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner* 59, 70, 75–76; and *Genesis of the Frontier Thesis* 6, 30–31, 187, 190, 192–93, 196.
8. *Papers* 10: 120. The most influential psychobiography of Wilson correctly emphasizes his later antipathy to West, but does not mention its origins in the Turner affair (George and George 40). The assumption is probably common that Wilson and West "seem never to have liked each other" (Veysey 244). Before the Turner affair, Wilson was in fact on good terms with West, against whom his previous greatest complaint had probably been the hangover West's claret gave him (*Papers* 7: 519).
9. *Papers* 12: 290. A major study of Turner mentions his candidacy at Princeton, but misses its central point (Jacobs 30).
10. For the Turner affair, see *Papers* 10: 196–97, 214, 270; Bragdon 226; *Papers* 10: 123, 135, 164, 202.
11. *Papers* 10: 500–01. One of those signatories, Cyrus Hall McCormick, Jr., may not technically have graduated. McCormick had been a member, with Wilson, of the class of 1879, and may have "finished his course" (Hutchinson 55). He does not seem, however, to have graduated with his class (*Papers* 5: 767). McCormick nevertheless served as a Princeton trustee from 1889 to 1936.
12. *Papers* 11: 110–11, 540–41. Later Wilson claimed that he had been offered the presidency of the University of Virginia three times (*Papers* 14: 203). This claim was exaggerated; the first contact was an offer, the second and third only feelers.
13. Wilson had turned down the Alabama job four years earlier (*Papers* 12: 106–07). His correspondent at Williams commanded "*burn this letter.*" Wilson obviously did not obey; see its publication in *Papers* 12: 156–57.
14. *Papers* 12: 70. Earlier Washington and Lee had considered Wilson for a previous presidential vacancy, but decided not to offer him the job (Crenshaw 236).
15. For Wilson's references to the proposed volume, see *Papers* 5: 242; 7: 579; 9: 128; 7: 98–101; 8: 27-28; 9: 129–30; and 12: 68.
16. Weber's lecture, on continuity and change in agrarian life, appears in Rogers 7: 725–46; and in Gerth and Mills 36–85. At least by Weber's standards his lecture was hardly "massive," as claimed by Martin Green (186). Its real importance was as Weber's first public lecture since his nervous breakdown, six years before (Weber 290).

Wilson's lecture, on common ground in general and specialized historical studies, appears in Rogers 2: 3–20; and in *Papers* 15: 472–91. Though it may have been remarkable for its moderation and sound sense, Wilson's lec-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ture was far from incisive (Bragdon 253). Neither Weber nor Wilson was at his best in St. Louis.

16. For Weber's and Wilson's itineraries, see Weber 291, 299; and *Papers* 15: 433–34, 468–69, 491.

17. For more on the conference, see Coats 417; and Haines and Jackson 215. That Weber and Wilson would have had much to discuss is argued by Eden (1–35).

18. See Rogin 564; Somit and Tanenhaus, *American Political Science* 68; Waldo 4n; Bendix and Roth 48; Heilbut 75; Somit and Tanenhaus, *Development of Political Science* 184; and Waldo 41n.

19. A less gracious evaluation is made by Kolko.

20. Weber 627. Earlier, even before William II abdicated, Weber had ridiculed the Emperor for "having been forced to bow to an American professor" (Mommsen 292).

21. That visit was probably the only time Wilson was in the United States Capitol before 1913 (Baker, "Youth" 218n).

22. See Dronberger 398; Gerth and Mills 25; Käsler 5; Weber 96, 119, 317–18.

REFERENCES

Baker, Ray Stannard. *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters, Princeton, 1890–1910.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927.

——. *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters: Youth, 1856–1890.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927.

Bell, H. C. F. *Woodrow Wilson and the People.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1945.

Bendix, Reinhard. *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait.* Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1962.

Bendix, Reinhard, and Guenther Roth. *Scholarship and Partisanship: Essays on Max Weber.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1971.

Billington, Ray Allen. *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher.* New York: Oxford UP, 1973.

——. *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity.* San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971.

Blum, John Morton. *Woodrow Wilson and the Politics of Morality.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1956.

Bragdon, Henry Wilkinson. *Woodrow Wilson: The Academic Years.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, Belknap Press, 1967.

Coats, A. W. "American Scholarship Comes of Age: The Louisiana Purchase Exposition 1904." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22.3 (July–September 1961): 404–17.

Corwin, Edward S. "Department Colleague." *Woodrow Wilson: Some Princeton Memories.* Ed. William Starr Myers. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1946. 19–25.

Crenshaw, Ollinger. *General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington and Lee University.* New York: Random House, 1969.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Crick, Bernard. *The American Science of Politics: Its Origins and Conditions.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1967.

Diamond, William. *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1943.

Donnan, Elizabeth, and Leo F. Stock, eds. *An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956.

Dronberger, Ilse. *The Political Thought of Max Weber: In Quest of Statesmanship.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971.

Dykhuizen, George. "John Dewey at Johns Hopkins (1882–1884)." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22.1 (January–March 1961): 103–16.

Eaton, Clement. "Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South." *Journal of Southern History* 28.1 (February 1962): 3–17.

Eden, Robert. *Political Leadership and Nihilism: A Study of Weber and Nietzsche.* Tampa: UP of Florida, 1983.

Furner, Mary O. *Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865–1905.* Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1975.

George, Alexander L., and Juliette L. George. *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study.* New York: John Day, 1956.

Gerstl, Joel, E. "Determinants of Occupational Community in High Occupations." *Sociological Quarterly* 2.1 (January 1961): 37–48.

Gerth, H. H. and C. Wright Mills, eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* New York: Oxford UP, 1972.

Ginzberg, Eli et al. *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory.* New York: Columbia UP, 1957.

Green, Martin. *The Von Richtofen Sisters: The Triumphant and the Tragic Modes of Love.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974.

Haddow, Anna. *Political Science in American Colleges and Universities 1636–1900.* New York: Octagon, 1969.

Haines, George, IV, and Frederick H. Jackson. "A Neglected Landmark in the History of Ideas." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 34.2 (September 1947): 201–20.

Harper, George McLean. "A Happy Family." *Woodrow Wilson: Some Princeton Memories.* Ed. William Starr Myers. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1946. 1-12.

Heilbut, Anthony. *Exiled in Paradise: German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America, from the 1930s to the Present.* Boston: Beacon, 1984.

Hofstadter, Richard, and C. Dewitt Hardy. *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States.* New York: Columbia UP, 1963.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Walter P. Metzger. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States.* New York: Columbia UP, 1965.

Hofstadter, Richard, and William Smith, eds. *American Higher Education: A Documentary History.* Vol. 2. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1961.

Holt, W. Stull. *Historical Scholarship in the United States and Other Essays.* Seattle: U of Washington P, 1967.

Hughes, H. Stuart. *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930.* New York: Knopf, 1958.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hutchison, William T. *Cyrus Hall McCormick: Harvest, 1856–1884.* New York: Appleton-Century, 1935.

Jacobs, Wilbur R. *The Historical World of Frederick Jackson Turner: With Selections from His Correspondence.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1968.

Käsler, Dirk. *Max Weber: An Introduction to His Life and Work.* Tr. Philippa Hurd. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988.

Kendall, Elaine. *"Peculiar Institutions:" An Informal History of the Seven Sister Colleges.* New York: Putnam's, 1976.

Kennedy, Richard S., and Paschal Reeves, eds. *The Notebooks of Thomas Wolfe.* Vol. 2. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1970.

Kolko, Gabriel. "Max Weber on America: Theory and Evidence." *History and Theory* 1.3 (1961): 243–260.

Liebersohn, Harry. *Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870–1923.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988.

Link, Arthur S., ed. *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967–1985.

——. *Wilson: The Road to the White House.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1968.

Meigs, Cornelia. *What Makes a College? A History of Bryn Mawr.* New York: Macmillan, 1956.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. *Max Weber and German Politics 1890–1920.* Tr. Michael S. Steinberg. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990.

Mulder, John M. *Woodrow Wilson: The Years of Preparation.* Princeton: Princeton UP 1978.

Parsons, Talcott, ed. *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.* Tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.

Perry, Bliss. *And Gladly Teach: Reminiscences.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935.

Price, Carl F. *Wesleyan's First Century: With an Account of the Centennial Celebration.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 1932.

Rogers, Howard J., ed. *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906.

Rogin, Michael. "Max Weber and Woodrow Wilson: The Iron Cage in Germany and America." *Polity* 3.4 (Summer 1971): 557–75.

Ryan, W. Carson. *Studies in Early Graduate Education: The Johns Hopkins, Clark University, The University of Chicago.* New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1939.

Scaff, Lawrence A. "Max Weber's Politics and Political Education." *American Political Science Review* 67.1 (March 1973): 128–41.

Schulz, Gerhard. *Revolutions and Peace Treaties 1917–1920.* Tr. Marian Jackson. London: Methuen, 1972.

Shils, Edward, tr. *Max Weber on Universities: The Power of the State and the Dignity of the Academic Calling in Imperial Germany.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1974.

Silva, Edward T., and Sheila A. Slaughter. *Serving Power: The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984.

Somit, Albert, and Joseph Tanenhaus. *American Political Science: A Profile of a Discipline.* New York: Atherton, 1964.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

———. *The Development of Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Sorauf, Frank J. *Perspectives on Political Science.* Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1966.

Spaeth, J. Duncan. "Wilson as I Knew Him and View Him Now." *Woodrow Wilson: Some Princeton Memories.* Ed. William Starr Myers. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1946. 69–91.

Stricker, Frank. "American Professors in the Progressive Era: Incomes, Aspirations, and Professionalism." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19.2 (Autumn 1988): 231–57.

Veysey, Lawrence R. *The Emergence of the American University.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1974.

Vincent, John Martin. "Herbert B. Adams." *American Masters of Social Science: An Approach to the Study of the Social Sciences Through a Neglected Field of Biography.* Ed. Howard W. Odum. New York: Holt, 1927. 99–130.

Waldo, Dwight. *The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Political Administration.* New York: Ronald Press, 1948.

Walworth, Arthur. *Woodrow Wilson.* 2d ed. rev. Baltimore: Penguin, 1969.

Weber, Marianne. *Max Weber: A Biography.* Ed. and tr. Harry Zohn. New York: Wiley, 1975.

Wertenbacher, Thomas Jefferson. *Princeton 1746–1896.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1946.

Wilson, Edmund. *The Shores of Light: A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1952.

Wilson, Woodrow. *Congressional Government.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886.

———. "The Law and the Facts." *American Political Science Review* 5.1 (February 1911): 1–11.

———. *Mere Literature and Other Essays.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896.

———. *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics: A Sketch of Institutional History and Administration.* Boston: Heath, 1889.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DAVID FELIX

Marx and Keynes: The Primacy of Politics

In a 1989 article "After *Annales*: The Life as History," Jacques Le Goff has emphasized that, as his title implies, the newly popular biographical studies need not, and must not, return to the traditional anecdotal biography but should move forward while retaining the insights of the *Annales* school and the other disciplines enlisted by that school. After publishing *L'Imaginaire médiéval* in 1985, he began a life of Louis IX on the example of biographical histories, works "in which a man, his writings, and his age illuminate each other to marvelous effect" (405). In this sense one can illuminatingly undertake a comparative study of the lives as history of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), who have much more in common than a temporal relation to the Victorian Age and their character as great economists and world historical personages.

Both Marx and Keynes were much more political than is generally recognized or accepted. Indeed, contradicting their own powerful emphases on economics, their lives and works can illustrate the primacy of politics over economics in world history. Marx's classic statement of materialism in *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (1859) is unequivocal: "The economic structure of society," constituted for him, "the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure" (*Werke* 13:8).[1] While Keynes granted considerable importance to politics, in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* he affirmed in easy arrogance: "Practical men . . . are usually the slaves of some defunct

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

economist" (*Collected Writings* 7: 383). Whatever they thought, or thought they thought, Marx and Keynes consciously used politics to achieve the consummation of their economic ideals.

Another value of biographical history is to rejoin what the individual disciplines have necessarily cast asunder. Too often the ideas of Marx and Keynes are studied in isolation from their actions. Marxology disputes endlessly about base and superstructure, dialectics, dialectical materialism, historical materialism, and production or property relations, among many other grand locutions, with interpretations requiring interpretations to be related to the real, working world. Most self-defined Keynesians, as well as economists generally, are little aware of Keynes's many political and policymaking activities. Marx and Keynes had in common the rare characteristic of being both original thinkers and implementers of (their own) ideas. When we pursue them we can see idea and act fused in their persons, as M. Le Goff would agree, "to marvelous effect."

Capital and *The General Theory,* their greatest statements, can be better understood as ideas *and* historical forces if we approach these works as much as possible as Marx and Keynes did, by reliving their lives with them to the point of creation—and beyond.

The young Marx had established himself as a dominating, responsible leader—as a natural political being.[2] At twenty-four he was the editor of a liberal Cologne newspaper; gaining ascendancy over its bourgeois board of directors, he made it a powerful critic of the established order, and in five months drove it into a fatal collision with the Prussian government. He presently became a leader among revolution-minded émigrés in Paris, again offended authority, was expelled from France, and moved on to Brussels. There, in 1846, he founded his first revolutionary organization, the Communist Correspondence Committee. In 1847 he united his group with the radical artisans of the League of the Just to create the Communist League, for which he wrote the *Communist Manifesto.* During the German Revolution of 1848 Marx was again an editor, this time as unquestioned master of a leading newspaper, and a Rhineland political leader of considerable weight. In London, after the failure of that bourgeois revolution, he concentrated on the proletarian revolution to come. Beginning in the 1860s after a period of regroupment of forces, he led the First International toward world revolution while guid-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ing the German Social Democrats toward a nationally based effort. During these later years, without altering his objectives, Marx adjusted his schedule of revolutionary action.

Marx's operations during the Revolution of 1848 illustrate his genius for politics—for decisive action in accord with both immediate circumstances and his ultimate aims. Two months after returning to Germany, arguing that the new freedom permitted legal revolutionary methods, he dissolved the Communist League against the resistance of some of the other leaders and joined the left-wing but bourgeois Democratic Party. With his *New Rhine Gazette* as an organ of the Democrats, his strategy was to cooperate with the progressive bourgeoisie until his proletariat was ready to succeed it. When the revolution began to falter, Marx dissociated himself from the Democrats, proclaimed his movements's proletarian essence, and in the famous Red Edition, the last issue of his newspaper, cried defiance in the words of a staff poet: *"Noch im Sterben rufend: 'Die Rebellion!'"* [In my act of dying calling out, "Rebellion!"] (*Werke* 6: 521). In the same issue, in his own words, Marx counseled the workers he was leaving behind: *"Wir warnen Euch . . . vor jedem Putsch. . . . Ihr wäret rettungslos verloren"* [We urge you to avoid any attempt at a putsch. . . . You would not have a chance] (*Werke* 6: 519). Marx left behind the unsullied memory of a pure revolutionary party on which to build future action.

One subsequent negative action relates strikingly to Marx's policy in Germany. In September 1850, in its new London headquarters, he broke up the revived Communist League to keep it out of the hands of irresponsibles. In the face of strengthened reaction they had proposed to attempt premature revolutionary operations. He said to his opponents: *"[W]ir sagen den Arbeitern: 'Ihr habt 15, 20, 50 Jahre Bürgerkrieg durchzumachen'"* [We tell the workers, "You have fifteen, twenty, fifty years in which to endure the civil war"] (*Werke* 8:598). In that interval Marx could best serve the revolution by writing *Capital,* the first volume appearing in 1867.

Capital was to become the fundamental statement, the dynamic constitution of the revolutionary movement, and was to establish Marx's intellectual authority over it—to make him unquestioned leader into the boundless future. Its vast bulk, however, rests on the arbitrary affirmation that all value is created by labor. Capitalist entrepreneurs rob the workers of the surplus value of their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

work; hence there is a fundamental injustice in the system. Inherent in this moral evil is a functional disorder which will destroy capitalism: stripped of surplus value, the workers cannot buy their share of the flood of commodities produced. In Marx's forceful language the result, besides monstrous wealth at one pole, is the *"Akkumulation von Elend, Arbeitsqual, Sklaverei, Unwissenheit, Brutalisierung und moralischer Degradation auf dem Gegenpol"* [accumulation of misery, sweated labor, slavery, ignorance, brutalization, and moral degradation at the opposite pole]—and periodic crises leading to the self-destruction of the system by way of a failure of consumption (*Werke* 23: 675). Yet *Capital* is an implicit recognition of the creativity of the capitalists, and the general prosperity and the rising living standards of the workers—despite depressions, other huge defects, and odd evils—challenge the validity of Marx's pure economic theory. This is not, however, to deny that *Capital* is the greatest effort of the imagination to comprehend the new capitalistic world created by the Industrial Revolution, as well as a classic statement of the human condition.

John Maynard Keynes, becoming an active policymaker while still in his twenties, compressed in his person a great number of practical roles, some of them specifically political and all of them affecting his economics. These included editor of the *Economic Journal* for thirty-three years; Treasury official responsible for interallied finance during World War I, and Treasury representative at the Paris Peace Conference; financial journalist; speculator on the currency, commodity, and stock exchanges; chairman of an insurance company and director of another; Liberal Party leader and chairman of its journal of opinion; adviser on antidepression policy; and generator of the original conceptions (and negotiator in their creation) of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. During these years, until his World War II responsibilities interfered, he taught economics at Cambridge University, "his brilliant lectures forming the minds," as one British observer wrote in *Time and Tide* in 1921, "of the largest numbers of students ever to attend lectures in economics" (*Collected Writings* 17: 240). All these activities nourished the economic conceptions, policy prescriptions, and political philosophy in his *General Theory.*

Beginning in 1909 Keynes taught orthodox neoclassical economics as defined by his early patron Alfred Marshall, although

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

he was soon nurturing subversive thoughts about the uncertainties threatening capitalism.[3] Keynes's *Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1919), written in protest against the peace terms and accurately predicting disastrous consequences if they were not corrected, emphasized the fragility and questioned the equity of the world economic order. In a major lecture in 1924, "The End of Laissez-Faire," he saw modern society, as the title suggested, finding a new equilibrium between individualism and socialism. While remaining officially a Liberal, Keynes would presently be calling himself a democratic socialist. Meanwhile, he found himself vainly opposing a series of decisions as fateful as those of the peace conference. Britain's return to the Gold Standard in 1925 resulted in an intensification of deflation and depression, with 10 percent unemployment. It also led to the General Strike of 1926 as employers, trying to reduce wages to compensate for the overvalued pound, aroused the resistance of the workers, whom Keynes took the occasion to defend.[4] The world Depression of the 1930s confirmed his warnings and saw him serving on important governmental bodies addressing it.[5]

In the years 1929–1931 Keynes was prescribing a British New Deal long before the American New Deal began: a government-coordinated general effort like Franklin D. Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration; public works projects financed by counter-deflationary loans; and official study of the possibility of changing "the distribution of wealth."[6] All of these expansive ideas, as well as his more modest ones, were ignored or rejected. Like Marx, he was driven into gaining his ends in the long run—by writing a book that would change thinking and so move people toward his vision of a healthy and just economic order.

Keynes began to construct *The General Theory* with the dismantled parts of his *Treatise on Money,* which he had begun to write in 1924 and which he published on October 31, 1930. When he tried to apply it to the Depression, the *Treatise,* neoclassical in essence despite some advanced ideas, simply failed to persuade other economists and responsible government leaders. Realizing its inadequacy with the help of criticism by younger colleagues, Keynes revised his thinking quickly and radically—revolutionized it to slay neoclassical economics and replace it with a new theory that could promise, among other things, to end the Depression.

The *General Theory* model represented a free-enterprise system with two major weaknesses—a tendency toward insufficient con-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sumption (not dissimilar from *Capital*'s failure of consumption as caused by proletarian poverty) and insufficient business investment, this latter the effect of liquidity preference and the resultant hoarding of money by wealth holders. The book was eloquently argued, staunchly defended by Keynes's young followers against the attacks of the leading neoclassical seniors, and powerfully supported by the effects of the dismal economic conditions on all minds. It began to convert more and more economists because it showed them how to actuate the levers of the governmental machine, thus fiscal and monetary policy, to attack the Depression conditions. Another factor was Keynes's creation of a Keynesian school around his students, future leaders of the profession, among whom "discussion was conducted very much in the atmosphere of a revivalist meeting: 'Brother are you saved?'"—as one of them, the enduringly faithful Austin Robinson, later wrote (41). The book's message also had strong populist attractions with its socialist aspects, including the advocacy of the socialization of investment, and because it suggested increasing the incomes of the poorer classes as a method of improving economic conditions generally. Published on February 4, 1936, *The General Theory* was beginning significantly to affect government policy in England and North America by 1938 and 1939. After World War II, as the senior economists retreated and retired, it became the dominant economic theory in the West.

One can find weaknesses in Keynes's *General Theory* symmetrical with those in Marx's *Capital*. The Keynesian work, like the Marxian, has proved to be more effective in application than defensible in theory. In *The General Theory* itself Keynes never actually proved the failure of consumption he claimed to see as likely (*Collected Writings* 7: 97). In regard to his other major argument, on money and liquidity preference, he had developed a complex chain of reasoning to the effect that the excessive demand for liquidity tended to raise the cost of investment funds and thus reduced the operations of entrepreneurs to stagnation levels. In pure theory Keynes's logic, however, depended on the assumption, which he never troubled to prove, that entrepreneurs have no bargaining power in dealing with the economic agents providing finance.[7] In the half-century since it appeared, moreover, *The General Theory* has experienced the denial in practice of its major theses. Consumption has proved to be a problem not because it has been too low, but because it has been too high,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

causing inadequate saving and inflation, while enterprises, in the face of increasing consumption, have been expanding continually despite the cost of investible funds. With all the problems still remaining, there has been no threat of a depression of the extent of the 1930s. Yet Keynes, like Marx, has been proved right on a grander scale than permitted by pure theory. Both thinkers understood and commanded the total reality—the politics, sociology, psychology, and the rest—better than the isolated economic part of it, and recognized the need for the conscious social organization of the economy.

Marx's achievement includes the creation of a movement which ruled more than a third—and profoundly affects the thinking of all—of the world's people today. It was a venial error for him to have written *Capital* around and about advanced economies while creating an ideology instinctively fitted so well to the needs of the less developed economies. Stalin's Russia and Mao Zedong's China, operating as command economies, could compress time and accomplish in a generation what had taken free-enterprise societies a century or two to accomplish. Of course this forced development, under its humanly flawed political leadership, has been accompanied by terrific hardship and vast loss of life; historiography can describe this better than it can understand or explain it. Nor should recent events in the former socialist nations be permitted of themselves to make us forget how much was accomplished and under what inspiration.

The General Theory established itself most fortuitously for the West at a moment when the Depression was behind it and the Cold War before it. Keynesian economics provided an important aid to the morale of Western society and its leadership immediately after World War II. The Depression had badly shaken confidence in the free-enterprise economy; Keynesian economics helped restore it. Western economists could believe they had defenses against the high unemployment and other depression conditions to be expected after demobilizing so many millions of fighting men. Actually, partly because Keynesian policies were already being instituted, those postwar problems did not arrive, nor, as time went on, did endemic weak consumption or excessive liquidity preference appear. The British White Paper of 1944 had declared it a government objective to maintain "a high and stable level of employment after the war," and the U. S. Employment Act of 1946 announced that government's commitment "to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

promote maximum employment" (qtd. in Lekachman 177, 171–72). Other Western nations undertook similar responsibilities. Yet, even if Keynesian expansionist action was not needed immediately after the war, the demand for long-term Keynesian economic intervention showed itself. Perversely, this was because of a development specifically excluded from the *General Theory* model. Economies of scale have resulted in the creation of larger and larger enterprises which could become threats both to economic stability and democratic government. The possible bankruptcy of a large firm could mean unacceptable regional, if not national, unemployment, while, contrariwise, the sheer wealth of such firms could have excessive influence over legislators and laws. This development has led to governmental acceptance of responsibility actively and permanently to direct the economy entirely in Keynes's spirit, recalling his ideal of democratic socialism. Like Marx, Keynes possessed a true instinct for the elements of power and politics in society and economy.

It is not to denigrate Marx to note that the power structure which an aggressive leadership left behind in the Soviet and Chinese regions stifled liberty and efficiency, while their rusting, retrograde industrial establishments continue to hold back progress. Yet Stalin and Mao had to create classes of trained professionals to staff their ambitious economies, and these experts, exercising their new freedom, have the ability to hack off the rust and drag them into the twenty-first century. It is not to denigrate Keynes to note that his compromise between free enterprise and socialism is unstable, and that a slow, soft socialism pervades the West more and more. In both Marxian and Keynesian cases, privatization actions can counter the surviving—and/or creeping—socialism and enliven these societies. In the last decade of the twentieth century we see how the political economists Marx and Keynes have divided the world between them.

NOTES

1. *"[D]ie ökonomische Struktur der Gesellschaft bildet die reale Basis, worauf sich ein juristischer und politischer Überbau erhebt."* All translations from the German are mine.
2. The following details are found in Felix 79–93 and passim.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

3. See, for example, his article, "Great Britain's Foreign Investments," *New Quarterly,* February 1910 (*Collected Writings* 15: 44–59).
4. See his unpublished article for *The New Republic,* "Reflections on the Strike," *Collected Writings* 19, part 2: 531–34.
5. These included the Committee on Finance and Industry (1929–1931), Economic Advisory Council (1930–1931), Committee on the Economic Outlook (1930), Committee of Economists (1930), and Committee on Economic Information (1931–1940).
6. See, for example, Keynes's memoranda to Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, "The Industrial Situation," early December 1929, and "Economic General Staff," December 10, 1929 (*Collected Writings* 20: 18–22, 22–27, quotation 22).
7. See especially chapters 13 and 14, "The General Theory of the Rate of Interest" and "The Classical Theory of the Rate of Interest" (*Collected Writings* 7: 165–93).

REFERENCES

Felix, David. *Marx as Politician.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1983.
Keynes, John Maynard. *Collected Writings.* London: Macmillan, for the Royal Economic Society, 1971–1989.
——. *The End of Laissez-Faire.* Expanded pamphlet form of lecture. London: Hogarth, 1926. In *Collected Writings* 9: 272–94.
Le Goff, Jacques. "After *Annales:* The Life as History." *Times Literary Supplement,* April 14–20, 1989 (No. 4589): 394, 405.
Lekachman, Robert. *The Age of Keynes.* New York: Random House, 1966.
Marx, Karl. *Werke.* Berlin: Dietz, 1956–1968.
Robinson, Austin. "John Maynard Keynes, 1883–1946." *Economic Journal* 57, no. 225 (March 1947): 1–68.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PIERRE H. DUBÉ

Chateaubriand and Gérard

While a number of studies have explored Chateaubriand's relationship with the artists Horace Vernet, Girodet, David d'Angers and Léopold Robert, there is a great deal of work yet to be done on Chateaubriand's relationship to other painters of his period, such as Baron François Pascal Simon Gérard, one of the better known figures of the early nineteenth century in France.[1] It comes as no surprise that he and Chateaubriand were acquainted. It is even less surprising that Chateaubriand should have sought him out to commission a portrait of Sainte Thérèse, a project which was to be very dear both to himself and to Madame de Chateaubriand. All available evidence suggests, however, that their acquaintance was forced upon them by circumstances. Their paths crossed on various occasions and although they refer to each other in their memoirs and correspondence, these references do not appear as frequently as one might expect. Although Chateaubriand admired Gérard as a man of genius, he nevertheless maintained a reserve in his dealings with him. Furthermore, little has been written dealing with Chateaubriand's influence on nineteenth century romantic painting and of any influence which the plastic arts might have had upon his own work. I would like, in this article, to establish the biographical points of contact between these two men. From there, I would like to demonstrate how the commissioning of Gérard to do the portrait of Sainte Thérèse, a selection of some importance to Chateaubriand, was the result of pressure brought to bear upon him rather than an act of enthusiastic choice.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Although their personalities and temperaments were quite different, both Chateaubriand and Gérard were aesthetically complex, the result of a classical upbringing on the one hand, and the desire to champion the more contemporary romantic styles and themes of the post-revolutionary era on the other. Gérard began as a student of Jacques-Louis David, and although we can see the influence of David in Gérard's paintings, we see beyond that influence a daring imagination and a streak of independence in his choice of themes and in his composition which readily distinguish him from other codisciples.

Gérard's paintings are generally of two types: portraits and those dealing with historical subjects. He excelled at the former—particularly with female facial features—to such an extent that hundreds of members of the French and European aristocracy flocked to his salon in order to be portrayed for posterity on one of his canvases.[2] Although portrait painting as a genre was by no means new, Gérard, because of his addition of romantic techniques, transformed this art form. It is perhaps because of his overly narrow specialization that Gérard has been denied by posterity the stature of his contemporaries Girodet and Gros.

Surprisingly, Chateaubriand does not number among those recorded on canvas by Gérard. There are various possible explanations for this omission. One of these would be based on Chateaubriand's intense admiration of the portrait done of him by Girodet. Perhaps he felt that yet another portrait, less flattering in its pose, would detract from the image of the writer projected in 1810 by Girodet.

Unlike the neoclassics, who had a penchant for painting their subjects as they ought to look rather than as they truly appeared, Gérard believed in submitting to reality. He was skilled at the art of analysis and at the translation of what he saw onto canvas. Chateaubriand's ideals in this area differ only slightly from Gérard's. The former felt compelled to imitate nature as he saw it. In his *Lettre sur l'art du dessin dans les paysages,* he counsels poets and painters to stop inventing or modifying nature in their works, as it was impossible to improve on the work of the Creator. Rather, Chateaubriand tended to avoid those scenes which were unpleasant to him and chose those which were pleasing. In the first preface to *Atala* he writes: "*Peignons la nature, mais la belle nature: l'art ne doit pas s'occuper des monstres.*" [Let's paint nature but only those elements of nature which are beautiful: art should not concern itself with the monstrous. (All translations are by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

author.)] Compared to Chateaubriand, Gérard demonstrated more modern tendencies which would lead toward the school of Realism.

Chateaubriand and Gérard met quite often, as they had numerous friends and acquaintances in common. Likely they met frequently at Madame Récamier's salon, l'Abbaye-aux-bois, as Gérard was a close friend of Madame Récamier's and a frequent guest of her salon. It is here that Chateaubriand would have come to know well both Gérard's celebrated portrait of Madame Récamier and his portrait of Madame de Staël, *Corinne au Cap Misène*. It is here also that we can establish Chateaubriand's and Gérard's first personal contact. Three such meetings have been confirmed by contemporaries. The first of these took place in June or July, 1814, when Chateaubriand read aloud his as yet unpublished *Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage*. His friend Ballanche chronicled the evening and listed Gérard as a member of the audience, along with such distinguished guests as the French general Bernadotte, his wife, the *maréchal* Macdonald, Benjamin Constant, and the painter David.

Gérard was also present for a reading of Chateaubriand's only dramatic work, *Moïse*, in 1829. Ballanche, in a letter to Amélie Cyvoct on June 18, 1829, describes the scene in the following way:

> *Hier il y a eu l'assemblée la plus brillante à l'Abbaye-aux-bois; c'était pour la première lecture de* Moïse. *Lafond lisait fort mal, parce que le manuscrit était mauvais; mais M. de Chateaubriand s'est mis à lire lui-même: ainsi l'intérêt a bien compensé ce qui pouvait manquer à la lecture. Toutefois, elle* [Madame Récamier] *était sur les épines; mais soyez certaine que tout a été très bien, que l'impression a été ce qu'elle devait tout naturellement être, c'est-à-dire, une impression de complète admiration.* (Lenormant 195–96)
>
> [There was an outstanding gathering of people yesterday at l'Abbaye-aux-bois for the first reading of *Moïse*. Given the poor condition of the manuscript, Lafond's reading was quite terrible, so M. de Chateaubriand began to read it himself, adding a dimension of interest which could have been missing during the reading. Madame Récamier, however, was on pins and needles, but rest assured that all went very well, that the general impression created turned out exactly as it should, one of complete admiration.]

Chateaubriand's friends awaited this reading with interest, as it had been some years since he had published works of the imagi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nation and this was his first attempt at theatre. It is not surprising that Madame Récamier would have included Gérard as a member of the audience.

The third occasion presented itself in 1835, when Chateaubriand was finally persuaded to read aloud his manuscript of the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*. Every Sunday for a month, at 2:30 in the afternoon, Chateaubriand would read two or three chapters to the small group of sixteen or seventeen persons gathered at l'Abbaye-aux-bois. Mrs. Trollope, in her work *Paris and the Parisians*, recalls sitting next to Gérard on one of those occasions and talking to him before the reading began. One presumes that he attended more than one of these sessions, as evidence indicates that Gérard was a regular guest at Madame Récamier's salon.

Gérard himself had a salon that met regularly every Wednesday afternoon from 1800 until his death in 1837. Although many of the fashionable contemporaries of Chateaubriand attended, notably Madame Récamier, we have no record of his ever having attended. We have here evidence that the Gérard-Chateaubriand relationship was really based on a mutual interest in Madame Récamier rather than a particular attraction of one to the other.

Chateaubriand himself makes various references to Gérard, both in his writings and in his correspondence. Gérard is praised in a thirty page letter written by Chateaubriand to A. Le Normant, the editor of *Le Conservateur,* on October 5, 1818. Chateaubriand applauds the return in painting to subjects based on Christian themes, as seen in the most recent salon. He lists a number of noteworthy examples and includes a flattering assessment of Gérard's painting, *L'Entrée d'Henri IV à Paris: "Henri est une seconde fois devenu immortel sous le pinceau de M. Gérard."* [Henry has been immortalized for a second time thanks to M. Gérard.] As the subject of this painting mirrors the return to Paris of Louis XVIII, it is all the more understandable that Chateaubriand would have lauded this canvas, which achieved such acclaim at the Salon of 1847, and which todays hangs at Versaille.

Chateaubriand mentions Gérard once again in a letter to Madame Récamier in October 1823 (1951: 167):

> *Je me suis acquitté de la commission de M. Gérard et, je vous assure, uniquement pour lui; car si je m'oppose de toutes mes forces aux actes arbitraires, j'ai une grande répugnance à déranger le cours de la justice. J'insisterai pourtant. Le génie exerce sur moi la séduction que cette jeune femme, dites-vous, a exercée sur cet homme qui l'a enlevée, et quand*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vous venez mêler votre puissance à celle du talent, il faut bien que j'obéisse.

[I have carried out M. Gérard's errand and assure you that I did it only for him, for while I am totally opposed to arbitrary acts, I absolutely abhor obstructing the course of justice. I can't let the matter drop, however. Genius brings to bear on me the same powers of seduction that this young woman had exerted, according to you, on the man who made off with her, and when you add your own powers to those of talent, I have no choice but to obey.]

Chateaubriand discreetly avoids elaborating here or elsewhere on the details of this favor for M. Gérard, yet it is quite clear that his admiration for Gérard supersedes his distaste for the favor. Chateaubriand consistently admired men of genius and Gérard was clearly in this category.

Chateaubriand's name appears in correspondence received by Gérard, indicative of an interest on the part of Gérard's friends in the activities of a man who was by this time a force in French political thought as well as a renowned writer and Christian apologist. We do not have extant, however, either correspondence by Gérard or journals in which he himself offers opinions or comments on Chateaubriand or on his works.

Chateaubriand, like many of his contemporaries, best knew Gérard through his paintings. In particular, he knew and admired the celebrated portrait of Madame Récamier, which hangs today at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. This painting is considered to be one of Gérard's most beautiful portraits and it was widely accepted that it is a true likeness of Madame Récamier. It shows the young Madame Récamier in a languorous pose, bare-shouldered, bare feet, displaying a look of childlike innocence and serenity. It is judged one of Gérard's masterpieces.

Although Chateaubriand and Madame Récamier were not yet friends at the time of its painting, he was aware of its existence and was to comment on it. Monsieur Récamier had commissioned the great artist David to paint a portrait of his wife. David so delayed its completion that Monsieur Récamier turned to Gérard in 1802.[3]

In April 1819, Prince Augustus of Prussia commissioned Gérard to paint *Corinne au Cap Misène,* which the prince presented to Madame Récamier in 1821 as a remembrance of her deep friendship with Madame de Staël.[4] The portrait hung in Madame Récamier's salon for many years, where it was admired

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and praised by Chateaubriand. In return, the prince was given Gérard's famous portrait of Madame Récamier, which hung in the gallery of the prince's home in Berlin until his death in 1845. It was subsequently returned to Madame Récamier according to the terms of his will and was put up for sale in 1860. It was purchased by the City of Paris for 19,800 francs.

Chateaubriand is curiously reticent about a portrait so admired by the public and by art critics alike, and of a woman so close to him. He wrote in his memoirs (1964: 37): "*Il* [Prince Augustus] *possédait l'admirable portrait que Gérard avait fait d'elle et qu'elle avait échangé avec le prince pour le tableau de Corinne.*" [He (Prince Augustus) owned the admirable portrait which Gérard had painted of her and which she had exchanged with the prince for a painting of Corinne.] Yet, Chateaubriand subsequently wrote in his memoirs (1964: 171):

> *On a de Madame Récamier une esquisse par David, un portrait en pied par Gérard, un buste de Canova. Le portrait est le chef d'oeuvre de Gérard mais il ne me plaît pas parce que j'y reconnais les traits sans y reconnaître l'expression du modèle.*
>
> [We have of Madame Récamier a sketch by David, a full-length portrait by Gérard, a bust by Canova. The portrait is Gérard's masterpiece but I don't like it because while I recognize the model's features, I don't recognize her expression.]

By this time (1839), Gérard had been dead for two years and Chateaubriand was able to formulate his opinions with some freedom. It is possible that his judgment was influenced by jealousy, which he might have experienced as a result of the friendship enjoyed by Gérard and Madame Récamier or because of the painter's acclaim, and that, while conceding the portrait's greatness, he felt compelled to find some minor fault with it. Perhaps this is a criticism expressed by a man who could never be fully satisfied with the portrait of the woman he loves. Nevertheless, it seems odd that a man harboring such reservations towards one of the great portraits in the history of French art would then willingly agree to the selection of this same artist to paint the portrait of Sainte Thérèse. We are thus led to believe that this selection was made under the pressure of external influences.

All of the preceding encounters led to an event of significant artistic importance to Chateaubriand: the painting of Sainte Thérèse, a portrait described in his memoirs as *"le dernier chef-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

d'oeuvre du peintre de Corinne" [the last masterpiece by Corinne's painter]. This beautiful painting was commissioned by Chateaubriand for the chapel of the Infirmerie de Marie Thérèse, rue d'Enfer, in Paris, a charitable institution established in 1819 under the patronage of the duchesse d'Angoulême and dear to Madame de Chateaubriand's heart.[5] Gérard owed Chateaubriand a favor, as we have seen earlier, and first showed this painting at the salon of 1827, where it was well received. The work still hangs in the chapel today.

Madame de Chateaubriand was the motivating force behind the selection of the artist, although A. Jal, in his *Salon de 1827*, would have us believe that Madame Récamier had been instrumental in the selection of Gérard: *"Madame Récamier a désiré que le peintre d'Austerlitz ornât une chapelle fondée par Madame de Chateaubriand."* [Madame Récamier wanted the artist who had painted *Austerlitz* to decorate a chapel established by Madame de Chateaubriand.] Madame Récamier was at least an intermediary between Chateaubriand and the artist. We do not know when the idea of the painting was first conceived, but the following letter from Madame de Chateaubriand to Madame Récamier, in September 1823, four years before the Salon at which it was first shown, suggests that the realization of this project was a lengthy one (237):

> *Vous êtes toujours, Madame, notre port dans la tempête. C'est donc encore à vos bontés que j'ai recours pour tâcher de pénétrer dans les secrets de notre capricieux immortel. Notre chapelle est prête, elle est charmante, il n'y manque plus que le tableau; mais quand arrivera-t-il? M. Gérard me l'avait positivement promis pour le premier octobre. Je n'ose lui rappeler sa promesse, dans la crainte d'en reculer encore l'exécution. Il n'y a donc que vous, madame, qui avec toutes vos séductions puissiez l'amener à achever sa charité promptement et de la bonne grâce. Dites-lui, si vous en trouvez l'occasion, que si la niche destinée à la sainte ne peut rien ajouter à un chef-d'oeuvre, au moins elle ne le gâtera pas. Le jour est admirable, et la couleur du stuc telle qu'un peintre la pourrait choisir. M. Huyot m'avait conseillé de lui envoyer le cadre, qui est très beau, mais peut-être préfère-t-il, comme il en avait achevé, et le placer dans l'endroit qui lui est destiné, afin de voir s'il n'y aurait point à donner quelques coups de pinceau dépendant de la disposition du jour. . . .*
>
> [Madam, you are always our refuge in the storm. I must once again call upon your kindness in an attempt to penetrate the secrets of our capricious immortal friend. Our chapel is ready and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is charming. Only the painting is missing but when will it arrive? M. Gérard had promised it faithfully for the first of October. I hesitate to remind him of his promise lest the completion date be delayed even further. There remains, Madam, only you, however, who with all your powers of seduction, might get him to follow through on his good intentions promptly and with good grace. Tell him, if the occasion arises, that if the niche intended for the saint adds nothing to the masterpiece, at least it will not take anything away from it. The quality of light is beautiful and the color of the stucco is such that an artist might have chosen it. M. Huyot had advised me to send him the frame, which is very beautiful, but he might prefer upon completion to place it in the location for which it had been intended in order to see if it needs to be touched up depending on the way daylight hits it. . . .]

Gérard first exhibited this painting at the Salon of 1827. He had been expected to show his painting of the coronation of Charles X but it was not ready, and instead he displayed several portraits, including the one of Sainte Thérèse. Jal notes further that rumors had been circulating in Paris that the painting would never be shown at the Salon, but that instead it would be delivered directly to the chapel, depriving the public of one of Gérard's finest portraits. The report was obviously unfounded and the art public was delighted with the results. The portrait is now considered one of Gérard's finest creations. On April 28, 1827, Chateaubriand himself wrote to Gérard, who at that time seemed to have lost interest in the project (Gerard 368):

> *Les grands talents sont charitables. Raphael a peint, pour de pauvres villages, des tableaux dont le prix ne pouvait être payé que par la gloire.*
>
> [People of great talent are charitable. Raphael painted for poor villages paintings whose fee could only be paid by glory.]

The painting portrays Saint Theresa kneeling on one knee, resting against the pillar of a Church, hands clasped in prayer. Although noting certain imperfections in her pose, critics were nonetheless taken with the exquisitely melancholic expression of the saint's face, portrayed in a moment of ecstasy. Captivated by the angelic qualities of the subject, critics were quick to overlook minor imperfections in other areas of the portrait. Who was this woman? Who inspired Gérard? It is more than likely that Gérard was, in large part, influenced by the Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* in painting the portrait. Chateaubriand had created

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a new interest in biblical subjects years before. Romanticism in this period was indebted to the *Génie du Christianisme* for many popular paintings of people in prayer or in quiet reflection in this period. H. Honour links this extraordinary portrait of the saint to the same spirituality which inspired the *Génie du Christianisme* (87):

> *De petits tableaux à sujet biblique, destinés non à des églises mais à des habitations privées ou à des collections, et des peintures représentant des personnages en prière . . . semblent refléter l'intérêt nouveau pour les mystères chrétiens que Chateaubriand avait éveillé même chez ceux qui étaient incapables de partager sa foi.*
>
> [Small paintings with biblical themes, intended not for churches but for private homes or collections, and paintings of people in prayer . . . seem to reflect a new interest for the Christian mysteries which Chateaubriand had awakened, even among those who were unable to share his faith.]

While Chateaubriand did not provide the model for this portrait, one has every reason to believe that his immensely popular treatise on Christianity was instrumental in creating the aura of adoration and religiosity so dominant in this painting.

Guizot was to comment in a critique published in *Le Globe* on March 5, 1828:

> *Jamais peut-être nul n'a si bien rendu l'alliance du recueillement et de la composition. . . . L'exécution est de la meilleure manière de M. Gérard, pleine d'humanité, de finesse et de suavité.*
>
> [Quite possibly no one has ever brought together so well revery and composition. . . . The painting represents Gérard at his best, full of humanity, finesse and sweetness.]

Chateaubriand responded to this article a few days later with an invitation to the public to view the portrait of Sainte Thérèse:

> *Monsieur: Je viens de lire, dans votre excellent journal, l'article où vous avez annoncé la Sainte-Thérèse de M. Gérard, ouvrage véritablement incomparable. . . . Madame de Chateaubriand et moi, monsieur, loin d'être avares du trésor que l'on nous confie, désirons qu'il soit communiqué à tous. C'est dans ce sens que j'ai répondu à une lettre que M. le comte de Forbin m'avait fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Je me reprocherais trop de soustraire à sa juste renommée le nouveau chef-d'oeuvre de M. Gérard: la gloire en France est une de nos libertés publiques; tout le monde est appelé à en jouir et à l'admirer. . . .*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

[Dear Sir, I have just read the article, in your excellent newspaper, in which you spoke of M. Gérard's truly incomparable portrait of Saint Theresa. . . . Madame de Chateaubriand and I, far from greedily hoarding this treasure, wish to share it with all. It is in this spirit that I answered a letter which I received from Count Forbin. I would blame myself for taking away from M. Gérard's masterpiece the renown it deserves: in France, glory is one of our public rights; everyone is invited to enjoy and to admire it. . . .]

Chateaubriand himself seemed to value this painting immensely. In grateful recognition, he presented Gérard with a magnificent bust of Scipio which he had acquired in Torre-Vergata while on an archaeological dig in 1828, when he was French ambassador in Rome. He had the base of this chef-d'oeuvre from antiquity inscribed with the words "Chateaubriand à Gérard." Chateaubriand's obvious delight with the painting is also revealed in his letter to Gérard dated April 28, 1828 (qtd. in Honour 369):

Je serais allé hier même, Monsieur, ainsi que Madame de Chateaubriand, vous porter nos remerciements et vous renouveler l'assurance de notre vive reconnaissance, sans des affaires particulières qui nous ont retenus dans notre solitude. La Sainte Thérèse *est plus belle que jamais dans la sienne. La foule nous envahit, et nous allons être obligés d'annoncer des jours fixes, en attendant le jour solennel de l'inauguration. J'attends ce jour avec impatience pour avoir l'occasion de manifester au public ma haute admiration de votre dernier chef-d'oeuvre. Mais, comme je vous l'ai déjà dit, je ne me repens pas trop de votre travail, puisqu'il ajoute à votre gloire. Recevez, je vous prie, Monsieur, un nouveau million de remerciements et de compliments les plus empressés.*

[Madame de Chateaubriand and I would have gone yesterday to communicate our thanks and to reiterate how grateful we are to you, were it not for personal matters which kept us at our place. The painting of Saint Theresa is more beautiful than ever in her place. We are overwhelmed by crowds and will be forced to announce specific days while waiting for the solemn date of the opening. I await this day impatiently to have the opportunity to display for the public my great admiration for your latest masterpiece. But, as I have already told you, I am not overly sorry for having commissioned this painting as it adds to your glory. Please accept, Monsieur Gérard, another million thank yous. Yours truly.]

The actual inauguration took place on June 3, 1828. Chateaubriand invited Gérard and his wife to the event to receive *"les éloges*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

d'un public nombreux et choisi" [the praises of a large and select audience]. As Madame de Chateaubriand was ill at the time, it was Madame Récamier who conveyed this invitation to the artist.

Chateaubriand's pride in the painting was also revealed when Brongniart, the director of the *Manufacture de Sèvres*, expressed a desire to have the painting reproduced by Madame Ducluzeau on porcelain. Chateaubriand responded two days later, on July 26, 1828, that he was unable to comply with this request as it was Madame de Chateaubriand who possessed the painting:[6]

> *Jusqu'à présent elle s'est toujours opposée à laisser prendre des copies du chef-d'oeuvre dont elle est avare, mais je la crois favorablement disposée pour le beau talent de Madame de Cluseau* [sic]. *C'est donc une affaire que vous pourrez arranger avec Madame de Chateaubriand.*
>
> [To date, she has always adamantly opposed having the masterpiece copied but I believe she is favorably disposed towards Madame de Cluseau's [sic] magnificent talent. This therefore is a matter which you will have to negotiate with Madame de Chateaubriand.]

Although Gérard was not inspired to illustrate Chateaubriand's published work, as was Girodet, whose painting *Les Funérailles d'Atala* had a profound impact on nineteenth century art as well as on Chateaubriand, Gérard seemed to have had more personal contact with the writer than had Girodet. Gérard's presence at Madame Récamier's salon and his attendance at various readings of Chateaubriand's works suggest a certain admiration for the man. One wonders, however, if his personal association with Chateaubriand was based more on a desire to please Madame Récamier than on a genuine interest in the writer. Chateaubriand's willingness to perform that mysterious service for Gérard was likely based on similar motives.

It is consistent with Chateaubriand's values that, in spite of his seemingly less than enthusiastic choice of Gérard to paint the portrait of Sainte Thérèse, he was not sparing in his public admiration of the finished painting. That Chateaubriand should have become so effusive about a project which, at the outset, lacked his total commitment, is an eloquent testimonial to the genius of the artist and to the magnificence of the portrait. Again, Chateaubriand recognized the work of a man of genius and was quick to demonstrate sincere enthusiasm for Gérard's talents if not for the man himself. Although Gérard and Chateaubriand did not osten-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sibly exert any direct influence upon each other, Chateaubriand is associated with three of Gérard's finest portraits, and there was, as we have seen, mutual admiration in their artistic endeavors.

NOTES

1. Gérard was born in 1770 in Rome. Some of his more famous paintings include "Belisaire," "Charles X," "Isabey et sa fille," and "La Bataille d'Austerlitz." His title was conferred upon him by Napoleon, although he chose never to be addressed by it and rarely wore the various decorations bestowed upon him. He did not seem to hold these honors in as high a regard as personal values, such as dignity of character, which to him suggested true nobility. For Chateaubriand's relationships with other artists, see Letessier 1953, 1960, 1968, 1970; Moreau 1955; and Dubé 1984.
2. Between 1800 and 1815 alone he produced fifty full-length portraits and forty busts. During his lifetime, he painted such notables as Napoleon, the Empress Josephine, Murat, the Empress Marie-Louise, Joseph Bonaparte, Talleyrand, Ducis, Talma, the sculptor Canova, and Madame Récamier. In total, he produced 84 full-length portraits and well over 200 smaller ones.
3. The unfinished portrait by David is considered one of his finest works and hangs in the Louvre.
4. Prince Augustus, in love with Madame Récamier, had hoped that she would consent to divorce her husband and marry him. This portrait is based on Madame de Staël's autobiographical novel *Corinne* (1807). It shows Madame de Staël in a symbolic pose as if she, seated in the portrait, were about to part her lips and join in the conversation of the salon.
5. The Chateaubriands gave a great deal of money to this institution, which was to house elderly priests and impoverished aristocratic ladies.
6. She obviously conceded, because Madame Ducluzeau spent the month of November 1829 at the Infirmary, completing the copy by the 30th. The porcelain reproduction was exhibited at the Louvre in January 1830, close to Madame Jacquotot's reproduction of Girodet's *Funérailles d'Atala*. Guizot was to have a copy of this painting given to him by Gérard. In Gérard's correspondence we find a letter from Guizot expressing his enthusiasm for this gift.

WORKS CITED

Chateaubriand, François-René de. 1951. *Lettres à Madame Récamier.* Ed. Maurice Levaillant. Paris: Flammarion.

———. 1964. *Mémoires d'outre-tombe.* Vol. II. Ed. Maurice Levaillant. Paris: Gallimard.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chateaubriand, Madame de. 1929. *Un Complément aux Mémoires d'outre-tombe. Mémoires et lettres de Madame de Chateaubriand.* Paris: Henri Jonquires.

Dubé, Pierre H. 1984. "Chateaubriand and Girodet." *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 54 (Avril-Juin): 85–94.

Gérard, François Pascal. 1867. *Correspondance de François Gérard, peintre d'histoire, avec les artistes et les personnages célèbres de sontemps.* Ed. Henri Gérard. Paris: Ad. Laine.

Honour, H. 1976. "Y eut-il une peinture néo-classique en France?" *Revue de l'art.*

Jal, A. 1828. *Esquisses, croquis, pochades ou tout ce qu'on voudra sur le salon de 1827.* Paris: Ambroise Dupont.

Lenormant, Amélie [Cyvoct]. 1872. *Madame Récamier, les amis de sa jeunesse et sa correspondance intime.* Paris: Michel Lévy.

Letessier, F. 1953. "Chateaubriand et David d'Angers." *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* (Décembre): 124–36.

———. 1960. "Chateaubriand et David D'Angers." *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* 294–96.

———. 1968. "Chateaubriand et Horace Vernet." *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France.* 1032–37.

———. 1970. "Chateaubriand et Horace Vernet." *Revue d'histoire litteraire de la France.* 476–78.

Moreau, Pierre. 1955. "Chateaubriand et Léopold Robert." *Atti del quinto congresso internationale di lingue e letterature moderne.* 353–61.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MALCOLM SAUNDERS

An Australian Pacifist: The Reverend Dr. Charles Strong, 1844–1942

Anyone familiar with the religious or political life of Australia—particularly Victoria—during the late nineteenth century will be acquainted with the Reverend Dr. Charles Strong (1844–1942), leading pioneer of the Australian peace movement.[1] In brief, Strong arrived in Melbourne from Scotland in 1875 to take up the ministry of Scots Church, and soon established himself as probably the most liberal and popular clergyman in the colony. However, his questioning of church doctrine and his insistence that the church be as concerned with this world as the next brought him into conflict with the Presbyterian elders in Victoria, who in 1883 forced him to resign. In 1885 Strong and most of his former congregation formed a new church, the Australian Church, so named "to avoid all old-world theological and sectarian associations" and to begin a new church "in harmony with, and expressive of, the free, democratic and progressive spirit of Australia" (Worsley and Strong 3). By 1887 a grand and spacious church had been built in Flinders Street, and Strong was ministering to a congregation of about a thousand.

But this is not the only context in which Strong is discussed. For instance, anyone informed about the home front in Australia during the First World War will almost certainly have seen mention of this almost always controversial churchman. The literature on this subject is now considerable; only a few examples of how Strong is regarded can be given here. Don Garden's general history of Victoria mentions Strong as one of the "few true pacifists"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who questioned Australia's role in the war (311). Michael McKernan's popular account of the Australian people during the war refers to Strong as the leader of the tiny band of pacifists in Victoria who opposed the war and the hysteria it engendered (84). Barry Smith's well-known and almost definitive work on the conscription plebiscites of 1916–1917 claims that Strong was the best known of "a sprinkling of widely respected Protestant clergymen" in Victoria who opposed the federal government's attempts to introduce conscription for overseas military service (*Conscription Plebiscites* 13)

In these and other places Strong is viewed, albeit briefly, as a pacifist who demonstrated a long commitment to peace and whose opposition to "the Great War" was entirely predictable. With one or two important qualifications, this view is completely correct. Close contemporaries recognized in unmistakable terms Strong's contribution to the cause of peace. Thus Eleanor Moore, a Melbourne pacifist, a member of the Australian Church, and the author of *The Quest for Peace,* the most valuable memoir about the peace movement in Australia in the twentieth century, referred to Strong as "the father of the peace movement in this State" ("Valedictory" 2). If anything, Moore understated her case and failed to do justice to Strong's importance. His influence extended far beyond Victoria. At that time and for most of this century Melbourne has provided the core of the peace movement in Australia. "Peace movements" have not only been stronger in Melbourne than elsewhere, but have also tended to originate and spread out from that city to other capitals.

It is remarkable, then, that not so much as an article, let alone a thesis or even part of a book, has been devoted to Strong's contribution to the peace movement. Colin Badger, in his life of Strong, *The Reverend Charles Strong and the Australian Church,* pays little attention to the latter's advocacy of peace and other reforms, and for these omissions was mildly reproved by Barry Smith ("Charles Strong" 231). True, the book was intended to be primarily about Strong and the Australian Church, rather than the many other organizations with which the minister was involved. But since world peace was an integral part of the life of both the church and its foundation minister—it would be hard, for instance, even to estimate the number of sermons Strong delivered on this theme—it seems almost improper to have discussed Strong at length and to have only briefly mentioned his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

interest in peace. The following pages will show that, unless Strong's role in the peace movement is examined, no proper assessment of either the man or his impact on Australia's political and religious history is possible.

Strong was a pioneer of peace advocacy in Australia. In fact, his activities date from the colonial era. During the late 1870s he was understandably preoccupied with establishing himself in a challenging post in a new land. In the early years of the following decade his time was taken up with local issues and defending himself against the criticism of church elders. But he had very likely been a pacifist in spirit since his coming of age. His experiences among Ayrshire miners in his native land had aroused within him a deep sympathy for working men and a belief that they suffered most from war. Perhaps, too, he had a vague notion that, in times of international tension, church hierarchs such as those who had expelled him from the Presbyterian fold were typically among the loudest supporters of war.

Whether these were the principal springs of his lifelong concern for world peace one simply cannot say. But from the late 1880s—by which time the Australian Church had been firmly established and Strong had launched his own journal, *Our Good Words*—one can begin to trace his interest in the promotion of peace. The eighties saw a burgeoning and rapid unification of a worldwide peace movement (Beales 162–97), and Strong watched the development with great interest. By the early 1890s he had become one of the first public figures in the Australian colonies to promote international arbitration and disarmament. From the pulpit and through the pages of his church's journal he began to attack the prevailing wisdom that there would always be war, and to argue instead that it could and must be abolished.

Significantly, when the English Quaker William Jones toured Australia in 1888–1889 to rouse his coreligionists to greater efforts in the cause of international arbitration and world peace, it was Strong who helped to host him, and it was in the Australian Church that he held his largest public meeting in Melbourne (Oats 321). Jones had only recently been elected secretary of the London Peace Society (LPS), one of the oldest peace organizations in the world. The attempts by Jones to establish similar groups in the Australian colonies in the long run proved unsuccessful. Groups were set up in at least Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, but none lasted more than a couple of years (Saunders,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Peace Dissent" 191–95). That one was formed in Melbourne at all probably owed something to Strong's encouragement and enthusiasm. When, many years later, Strong and other clergymen once again turned their hand to setting up a peace group in Melbourne, they formed a branch of the London Peace Society with aims identical to those of the parent body. Long before this, however, Strong had acquired a name for himself as a—if not *the*—leading pacifist in Victoria.

Strong, then, inevitably played a part in establishing an organized peace movement in Australia. The occasion was the Boer War of 1899–1902. Strong was probably one of the first public figures in Victoria, and certainly one of the first clergymen in Melbourne, to speak out against British policy in South Africa and the Australian colonies' military involvement in the conflict. Like most opponents of the war he considered it "cruel" and "unjust" (*Australian Herald* October 1899: 23). He depicted the Boers as "brave but, perhaps, rude" farmers fighting for their independence, and Britain as betraying the ideals of liberty for which it stood (*Australian Herald* October 1900: 24; April 1902: 145–46). Nine months after it began, Strong and another Protestant minister, the Reverend Mr. Hopkins, called on the Reverend Dr. John Laurence Rentoul, the touchy, hot-tempered, and combative master of Ormond College at the University of Melbourne, with the idea of organizing opposition to the conflict (Barrett 98-99; *Australian Herald* 1 May 1906: 120).[2] Their initiative led to the first group in Australia formed specifically to oppose a particular war.

The Peace and Humanity Society (PHS), formed in May–June 1900, adopted very broad aims but its principal *raison d'etre* was always the war in South Africa (*Age* 31 May 1900: 4). It managed to enroll no more than 150–200 members (*Australian Herald* August 1900: 240). But it drew quite large crowds to several of its public meetings, stimulated a considerable amount of publicity (most of it hostile), and boasted among its officebearers and most active members some of the best known figures in church and political circles in Melbourne. Henry Bournes Higgins MHR and John Murray MLA, for instance, were keen members. Rentoul was its president, driving force, and the person most associated with it in the public mind. But Strong became a vice-president, addressed its first public meeting, participated in most of its gatherings, and reported its proceedings in the Australian Church's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

journal, now renamed the *Australian Herald.*[3] After the war ended in May 1902, the PHS became inactive, Rentoul lost interest, and eventually left for overseas (*Australian Herald* 1 May 1906: 120).

If not for Strong the PHS would have been another abortive attempt to establish a peace movement in Australia. But Strong's interest in the peace question was intensified by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 (*Australian Herald* 1 October 1905: 18; 1 December 1905: 41). In late 1905 Strong and a Unitarian minister, the Reverend W. H. Lambley, called on Rentoul, but despaired of effecting a revival of the PHS (*Australian Herald* 1 May 1906: 120). Instead they convened a public meeting in November 1905 and formed a Melbourne branch of the London Peace Society. Set up not to oppose a particular war but to promote peace, the Melbourne Peace Society (MPS) eventually became the first group of its type in Australia to endure more than a couple of years. Indeed it lasted for the most part of half a century; it was not formally dissolved until 1949 (Minutes, 20 March 1949). Its heyday was before the First World War, but it was still very active during the war and throughout the 1920s.

Strong, naturally, was elected president and remained in that post throughout the group's existence. He was no mere figurehead. That the group was founded on Christian principles and emphasized winning the support of clergy and other Christians was probably due to Strong's influence. Strong chaired all its public, general, and committee meetings; the last were usually held at his home, "Concord," Barnato Grove, Armadale. He promoted the group in the church journal—from late 1908 the *Australian Herald* was renamed the *Commonweal*—frequently addressed gatherings, and used his many contacts and considerable prestige to bring dignitaries from church, political, diplomatic, and women's circles to give lectures to meetings and participate in special events. Before the First World War the group had about 200 members, the number slowly dwindling to about 40 in the late 1930s ("Members Subscriptions 1936–1938").

Had Strong's activities been confined to the PHS and the MPS his contribution to the early Australian peace movement would still have been considerable. But Strong was ubiquitous, his ambition for the peace movement boundless. He extracted a promise from Rose Scott, probably the most revered of Australia's "first-wave" feminists, to initiate a branch of the LPS in Syd-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ney (*Australian Herald* 1 April 1907: 312; 1 August 1907: 477; 1 November 1907: 103–04). In February 1907 he visited Hobart and in December of that year he travelled to Adelaide for a similar purpose (*Australian Herald* 1 March 1907: 268; 1 February 1908: 302–04). By the early months of 1908 Peace Societies flourished in four states. The MPS acted as the leader of these branches and as their main link with the parent body in London. Strong's *Commonweal,* too, served to keep them informed of each other's activities. The principal concern of all the branches was to promote the substitution of arbitration for war as a means of settling international disputes.

Within a few years, however, there was another concern, equally pressing and much closer to home. This was the scheme of compulsory military training, much mooted over preceding years and finally implemented in 1911. Strong and others in the Peace Society called it "the thin edge of the wedge" of conscription (*Commonweal* 1 April 1912: 295; 1 February 1913: 194). When the English Quaker John Fletcher visited Melbourne in 1912 as part of a tour of Australia and New Zealand to stir up opposition to compulsory military training, Strong was one of the key people from whom he sought support (Jauncey 67–68).[4] Another, and certainly more important figure, was the Reverend Leyton Richards of the Independent Church (Richards 44–48).[5] Largely through the latter's efforts a branch of the Australian Freedom League—a group first formed in Adelaide in April 1912 to oppose the compulsory clauses of the Defence Act—was established in Victoria (*Commonweal* 1 October 1912: 58–59). Most of its leaders were Quakers, but Strong was undoubtedly one of its most enthusiastic supporters, and very soon after became one of its two treasurers.

It must be remembered that by this time Strong was no longer middle-aged, let alone young. He turned 70, sadly enough, only weeks after the outbreak of the First World War. For most other men it would have been a turning-point in their lives and heralded a decision to do less. But the war did nothing to curb his enthusiasm for the cause.

Few at the time would have realized that Strong had barely passed the halfway mark of his career as a peace advocate. Predictably, he deplored the war that he and thousands of others throughout the world had tried hard to avert (*Commonweal* 1 September 1914: 18–19). But the principal objective of both Strong

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the Peace Society was at first less the cessation of hostilities or the beginning of negotiations between the combatants; rather it was simply to do what they could to offset the jingoism the war had caused. Strong's antiwar sermons in general, and his refusal to allow the national anthem to be played in the Australian Church in particular, led to a significant diminution of his congregation (Badger, *The Reverend Charles Strong* 145–46).

He was still full of new ideas and initiatives. Early in 1915 he called together a group of women, the nucleus of whom came from his own congregation, with a view to forming the first women's peace group in Australia (*Commonweal* 1 February 1915: 169–70, 186–87; 1 April 1915: 8–9). That meeting of about thirty women in the Australian Church on 25 March formed the Sisterhood of International Peace (SIP) and adopted aims very similar to those of the Peace Society. In 1920 it became the Australian chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

A few months later Strong inaugurated a new journal. Since the war began he had been receiving, especially from overseas, more peace-related news than he could justify printing in what was supposed to be a journal devoted mainly to church matters and religious affairs.[6] All of these tidbits would in future be published in *Peacewards,* the joint mouthpiece of the MPS and the SIP. Issued both separately and as the middle section of *Commonweal, Peacewards* varied in size according to funds available. Never less than four, it was often six or eight pages long.

Peacewards appeared every month between August 1915 and February 1942.[7] Strong, its sole editor, thus determined its contents for more than a quarter-century. Its circulation was modest; at most perhaps fifteen hundred copies of some issues were printed (*Peacewards* 1 May 1917: 9; 1 July 1921: 10; 1 October 1923: 8). During the 1930s it was sent free to clergymen throughout Victoria. But as a digest of information of interest to peace advocates in Australia it had no equal. Although Strong continued to be involved in the peace movement in other ways, his almost singlehanded production of *Peacewards* was among his most important contributions.

Strong, of course, vehemently opposed conscription for overseas military service. Probably no other clergyman in Victoria—apart from Dr. Daniel Mannix—was more associated in the public mind with opposition to conscription. Strong argued against it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from the pulpit and in the pages of *Peacewards,* but his most effective contribution to the campaign against it was a manifesto that he and eight other Protestant ministers lodged in the daily press urging a "No" vote during the build-up to the second referendum in December 1917 ("Conscription and Christianity" 11).

After the war, a declining congregation and a perennial shortage of money forced the Australian Church to give up its church in Flinders Street and move into much smaller premises at the lower end of Russell Street. Strong remained, however, among the most active of peace advocates in Australia. Like most pacifists, he had reservations about the League of Nations. He regretted that it was not more a league of peoples than of governments, but more importantly, that it still recognized war as a legitimate method of settling disputes between nations (*Peacewards* 1 May 1919: 11–12; 1 January 1921: 10; 15 January 1918: 11). Nevertheless he warmly supported the League in principle and urged every effort to have it improved. There was the sense among pacifists that, with the establishment of the League, at least the principle of arbitration had been accepted. In any case, by far the most popular issue of the 1920s was disarmament. Throughout the decade the pacifist or near-pacifist groups in Melbourne—the Peace Society, WILPF, the Australian Church, the Society of Friends, and the Free Religious Fellowship—frequently cooperated to argue that total and universal disarmament was a prerequisite for world peace (*Peacewards* 1 November 1921: 7–8). When, in July 1928, the peace movement as a whole formed the umbrella group, the World Disarmament Movement, it was logical that Strong be asked to assist in launching it at a huge public meeting, and that he be elected one of its vice-presidents (World Disarmament Movement; Moore, *Quest* 87).

Throughout his life Strong demonstrated a firm commitment to cooperating with others concerned about world peace. Despite his distaste for communism he welcomed the Movement Against War and Fascism (MAWF) in the early 1930s; although he and most others in the Peace Society had doubts about what "collective security" could entail, he supported the International Peace Campaign (IPC) launched in 1936. WILPF, the Society of Friends, and other even smaller pacifist groups, were wary of the MAWF, and eventually left the IPC because it seemed to them more concerned with protecting Soviet Russia from Nazi Germany than promoting goodwill among the principal European

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nations (Rasmussen, chs. 9–11; Moore, *Quest* ch. 14). That the MPS remained affiliated with the IPC until some months after the outbreak of the Second World War was again probably due to the influence of Strong's steadying hand (Minutes, 20 June 1940).

Still, the prelude to the war forced Strong to take a painful, and given his age, a remarkable decision. In his comments in *Peacewards* over the years he had shown an overwhelming repugnance not only for the atheism and materialism of Russia, but also for the tyranny and brutality of the other totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy (*Peacewards* 2 March 1925: 13; 2 February 1927: 9; 1 March 1935: 7–8). But, whereas he could commend the ideals of the Bolsheviks, he saw no redeeming features whatsoever in the Nazis' ideology or methods. Like many pacifists, both in Australia and especially overseas, he agonized over whether war or fascism was the greater evil. From the closing months of 1938 he increasingly implied a divergence between "pacifists" like himself and the "absolute pacifists" with whom he had worked for much of his life (*Peacewards* 1 October 1938: 10; 1 December 1938: 7; 1 February 1939: 8; 1 July 1939: 8–9; 1 November 1939: 7). Well before the war broke out in September 1939, Strong had come to accept that Hitler's aggression had to be resisted with military force. Such changes of heart and mind, it must be admitted, are not common among men in their mid-nineties.

Nevertheless, his antipathy to war and its concomitant evils did not diminish. There was nothing in Strong of the zealous convert to the opposing side. In *Peacewards*, now one of the few forums open to him that he could still manage to use, he continued to attack "militarism," denounce the reintroduction of compulsory military training and the suggestion of conscription, warn readers of the despotic power available to the federal government under the National Service Act, urge more liberal provisions for conscientious objection to military service, and stress that winning the war should not completely overshadow the need to be planning for "a new world order" (*Commonweal* 2 January 1939: 18; *Peacewards* 1 December 1939: 9; 1 January 1940: 9, 1 April 1940: 12; 1 October 1940: 7). Old age prevented much activity. In the Australian Church, services were more and more conducted by invited ministers and other guests (Badger, "Charles Strong Memorial Trust"). Still penning the occasional letter to the daily

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

newspapers, he seldom appeared in public. By this time the Peace Society had dwindled to a dedicated few; in July 1940 it resolved to hold no further meetings for the duration of the war (Minutes, 27 July 1940).

Charles Strong died in February 1942 while on holiday in the Victorian seaside town of Lorne, ironically at a time when the world was engulfed in the most destructive war in human history and white Australia was faced with its first real prospect of being invaded and occupied. The peace movement he had done much to establish had virtually collapsed. The IPC had been discredited and the Peace Society was moribund. There were several groups in Melbourne—both long-established and newly formed—which adhered to the pacifist faith, but Strong, by his rejection of absolute pacifism, had effectively distanced himself from them. Their source of information and support was increasingly not the octavo-size *Peacewards* but the monthly broadsheet *Peacemaker*—eventually to be the organ of a Federal Pacifist Council.[8]

What, then, was his legacy? The Peace Society, though not formally wound up until 1949, died with him. So did *Peacewards*. But to have brought out the latter for so long was no minor achievement. In 1942 the curator of the Jane Addams Peace Collection at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania remarked that the magazine "had had a longer life than that of any purely peace journal published in any country" (Moore, *Quest* 31–32; Brinton).[9] Its pages are an invaluable source of information about the thinking of pacifists and other peace advocates in Australia and overseas during and between the two world wars. The Australian Church, in slow decline since the early 1900s, finally dissolved in 1955. WILPF survived; with about five hundred members and branches in every state, it carries out Strong's wish that women take a vital interest in helping to bring about the abolition of war.

These, however, were only Strong's tangible achievements in the cause of peace. There were others, although some qualifications must be made. Although he read and wrote prolifically, Strong was not a deep thinker about issues of war and peace. He did not make to the peace movement the intellectual contribution that, say, Edward Dillon made to the Peace Society or Eleanor Moore made to WILPF. Nor was he a good or even a willing organizer; Strong was almost always a group's president and seldom if ever its secretary. Rather, Strong's genius lay in his ability

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to inspire others. Moreover, he always remained faithful to and retained a close interest in the groups he fostered. But he was a rock on which they stood or a flag around which they rallied, rather than the engine which drove them.

Apart from his prestige and influence, Strong's gifts to the peace movement were the frequency, energy, and persistence with which he denounced war and the steadfastness with which he encouraged and supported other peace advocates. Not least of his contributions was the example he set for clergy and other Christians. Strong, very simply, embodied the notion that Christianity and war were incompatible. He was not merely an exhorter of peace advocates, but the prime mover of the peace movement. Strong is today remembered as a rebel Protestant, the founder of the Australian Church, and an early and very effective exponent of liberal Christianity. It does him an injustice not to recognize also that he was a pioneer of the organized peace movement in Australia and that he did more than any other person to establish and foster it during the first half-century of its history.

NOTES

1. Strong figures prominently, for instance in Roe; Serle; and Smith, "Religion and Free Thought." This article is only concerned with Strong's role in the early Australian peace movement. For a close look at the nature of Strong's "pacifism"—as distinct from his peace activities—see Saunders, "Pacifism."
2. For two completely different portraits of Rentoul, see Badger, *The Reverend Charles Strong* 84; and *Tocsin* 27 February 1902: 3.
3. Other periodicals to report PHS meetings in some detail were the socialist *Tocsin* and the Catholic *Advocate*.
4. Jauncey's book, however, is notorious for its jumbled organization and inaccurate detail.
5. Richards had won considerable publicity by announcing to the press that in mid-June 1912 he would preach in his Collins Street Independent Church on "Compulsory Military Training and the Duty of the Church." The sermon was later printed and widely circulated.
6. From at least as early as December 1910 almost every issue of Commonweal had a "Peace Notes" section, which grew to a "Notes on Peace and Arbitration" section, which in turn eventually covered several pages.
7. The last issue of *Commonweal* (which still incorporated *Peacewards*) appeared in March 1942. It was wholly a tribute to Strong.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. The first issue of *Peacemaker* appeared in September 1939. Its editor was Frank Coaldrake, a young Anglican priest, who many years later became the Archbishop-elect of Brisbane. He died in 1970 before he could take up the office.
9. Ellen Starr Brinton, another dedicated pacifist, was the curator of the Jane Adams Peace Collection at this time.

WORKS CITED

Badger, C. R. "The Charles Strong (Australian Church) Memorial Trust: A brief history of the origin, structure, and progress of the Trust, 1939–1990." Unpublished typescript. Melbourne, 1991.

———. *The Reverend Charles Strong and the Australian Church.* Melbourne: Abacada Press, for the Reverend Charles Strong Memorial Trust, 1971.

Barrett, J. *Falling in.* Sydney, 1979.

Beales, A. C. F. *A History of Peace.* London: G. Bell, 1931.

Brinton, Ellen Starr. Letter to E. Moore. 30 April 1942. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers. La Trobe University Library, Melbourne.

"Conscription and Christianity." *Federal Independent* 15 January 1918.

Garden, D. *Victoria: A History.* Melbourne: Nelson, 1984.

Jauncey, L. C. *The Story of Conscription in Australia.* Melbourne, 1935.

McKernan, M. *The Australian People and the Great War.* Melbourne: Nelson, 1980.

"Members Subscriptions 1936–38." MS 2882/3/1, Strong Papers. National Library of Australia.

Minutes. 27 July 1940, Adjourned Annual Meeting. Melbourne Peace Society, Minute Book. MS 2882/3/1, Strong Papers. National Library of Australia.

———. 20 June 1940, Annual Meeting. Melbourne Peace Society, Minutes Book. MS 2882/3/1, Strong Papers. National Library of Australia.

———. 20 March 1949, Meeting. Melbourne Peace Society, Minutes Book. MS 2882/3/1, Strong Papers, National Library of Australia.

Moore, E. M. *The Quest for Peace.* Melbourne, 1950.

———. "Valedictory: Dr. Charles Strong." *Peacemaker* February 1942.

Oats, William N. *A Question of Survival: Quakers in Australia in the Nineteenth Century.* Brisbane: U of Queensland P, 1985.

Rasmussen, C. A. "Defending the Bad Against the Worse: The Peace Movement in Australia in the 1930s: Its Origins, Structure and Development." Ph.D. thesis. University of Melbourne, 1984.

Richards, E. R. *Private View of a Public Man: The Life of Leyton Richards.* London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1950.

Roe, J. "Challenge and Response: Religious Life in Melbourne 1876–86." *Journal of Religious History* 5 (1968–69): 149–66.

Saunders, Malcolm. "The 'Pacifism' of the Reverend Dr Charles Strong (1844–1942)." *Interdisciplinary Peace Research* 5.1 (May–June 1993): 3–32.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

———. "Peace Dissent in the Australian Colonies: 1788–1900." *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal* December 1988.

Serle, G. *The Rush to Be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883–89.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1970.

Smith, F. B. "Charles Strong: A Persecuted Man of the Kirk." *Meanjin Quarterly* June 1972.

———. *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia 1916–17.* Melbourne: Victoria Historical Society, 1965, 1974.

———. "Religion and Free Thought in Melbourne 1870–90." M.A. thesis. University of Melbourne, 1960.

World Disarmament Movement. Minutes, Meeting, Melbourne Town Hall, 26 July 1928, 12–12A. Eleanor May Moore Papers (in possession of Miss V. Abraham, Sydney).

Worsley, A., and H. Strong. *A Memoir: The Australian Church 1885–1955 and Rev. Charles Strong DD 1844–1942.* Melbourne, 1958.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Responses and Reviews

WILLIAM H. EPSTEIN

Embodied Knowing

In his recent article in *Biography* 17.2 (Spring 1994): 125–42, "Reading Lives to Live: Mortality, Introspection, and the Soteriological Impulse," Richard A. Hutch, claiming that his "argument cuts across the grain of postmodern thought in the humanities," contends that "workers in biographical studies have not pursued embodied knowing because it has itself been tied up in postmodernism and a 'disembodied' style of thought. The body has been neglected both as an object of study *and also* as a researcher's best tool" (127–28, emphasis in original). Although, Hutch observes, "the mortal body" is already "a pressing topic for research" in other fields, it has "not so far, it seems," become one "for biography," more or less because, in postmodern approaches, "the living body vanishes" (127–28).

As the author of the only (so far as I know) book-length study of biographical narrative that identifies itself as "postmodern"—*Recognizing Biography* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1987)—I have the feeling that Hutch may be writing at least partly in response to my work. This feeling is reinforced by the fact that he cites my book once (his note 6), and is also complicated by two other circumstances. The first of these complicating circumstances is that the theme of embodiment is a major one in *Recognizing Biography* and "the living body" (in various senses of that phrase) is dealt with at various points throughout the book, especially in the last chapter. The second of these complicating circumstances is that, in establishing and pursuing his case, Hutch borrows, without acknowledgement, not only some ideas and approaches from *Recognizing Biogra-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ply, but also the actual language of several passages from the book. The first circumstance might be said to constitute merely an opinion, extenuated by different emphases and methodologies, and I will forgo developing it here. But the second circumstance constitutes a serious charge, which I will now endeavor to specify.

There are three instances of this borrowing from *Recognizing Biography* (hereafter *RB*) in Hutch's article. The first instance occurs in the article's first paragraph, page 125. Hutch writes:

> Mass-media observations on the popularity of biography range from the typical comment that "the art, or at least the enterprise of literary biography . . . flourishes so prodigiously these days," to *Time*'s stories on Leon Edel's inaugurating the Vernon Visiting Professorship of Biography at Dartmouth College, and to the current popularity of imaginative, well-written biographies by non-academics.

The first sentence of page 173, note 2, in *RB* reads:

> Mass-media observations on the popularity of biography range from the typical comment that "The art, or at least the enterprise of literary biography . . . flourishes so prodigiously these days" (Hilton Kramer, "Writing Writers' Lives," *New York Times Book Review,* 8 May 1977, p. 3), to *Time*'s stories on Leon Edel's inaugurating the Vernon Visiting Professorship of Biography at Dartmouth, and on the current popularity of imaginative, well-written biographies by non-academics ("The Lesson of the Master," 22 Aug. 1977, p. 47; and "Raw Bones, Fire and Patience," 21 Feb. 1983, pp. 76, 78).

Hutch's sentence replicates *RB*'s sentence, with these changes: Hutch's lower-case "t" replaces RB's upper-case "T" in the word "The" after the first embedded quotation mark; Hutch drops *RB*'s parenthetical citations to Kramer and the *Time* articles; Hutch adds the word "College" after the word "Dartmouth"; and Hutch changes *RB*'s "on" to "to" at the beginning of his last phrase. Hutch concludes his sentence with the superscripted endnote number 6. Endnote 6 reads, in its entirety: "Quoted in W. Epstein, *Recognizing Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), pp. 172–73, footnote 2." Such wording usually means that the quotation embedded in Hutch's sentence, and *only* that embedded quotation, appeared in *RB*. Such, obviously, is not the case.

Now, readers might quibble that, although Hutch's practice in this instance violates standard documentation procedures in scholarly articles, he nevertheless does cite his source. Perhaps, they might add, he merely made an error in transcription and inadvertently rendered Epstein's language (that is, nearly all the language in Hutch's sentence *not* in the embedded quotation) as if it were his own. These charitable readers will find no such quibbles possible in the other two instances.

On page 127, Hutch's text reads:

> A life can be described, says Barthes, as a "*figure* (an impersonal network of symbols combined under the proper name)" to which "a preconscious remainder" has been added to produce a "*person* (a moral freedom endowed with motives and an overdetermination of meanings)." The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> problem with this approach, as Barthes acknowledges, is that it indulges "the vulgar book-keeping of compositional characters," as if a narrative accounting of discursive traces can (mystically and mechanically) compose "something like *individuality.*"

The first sentence is followed by the superscripted endnote number 11, the second by the number 12. Endnote 11 reads, in its entirety: "R. Barthes, *S/Z,* trans. by R. Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), p. 94." Endnote 12 reads, in its entirety: "Ibid."

The first three sentences of *RB*'s page 194, note 12, read:

> Another way of saying this is to describe the biographical subject, *pace* Roland Barthes, as a supplemented sum of semes, that is, as a "*figure* (an impersonal network of symbols combined under the proper name)" to which "a precious remainder" has been added to produce a "*person* (a moral freedom endowed with motives and an overdetermination of meanings)." The problem with this approach, as Barthes acknowledges, is that it indulges "the vulgar bookkeeping of compositional characters," as if a narrative accounting of discursive traces can (mystically and mechanically) compose "something like *individuality.*" See *S/Z,* trans. Richard Miller (1970; New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), pp. 94, 191.

It is fairly clear, I think, that the passage citing and quoting Barthes in Hutch's article is taken, almost verbatim and without acknowledgment, from the passage in *RB* citing and quoting Barthes. Hutch introduces three changes: the opening clause of the first sentence; "preconscious" for "precious" in *RB* and *S/Z;* and the hyphen in "bookkeeping," which is absent in *RB* and *S/Z.* This time Hutch does not cite *RB,* thus leading readers to believe that all the language not in quotation marks in this passage is his. It is not: for better or for worse, most of that language is mine. Note also that Hutch's endnotes 11 and 12 refer only to page 94 of *S/Z,* whereas my citation refers to pages 94 and 191. In fact, about half the material from *S/Z* in both Hutch and *RB* is from page 191. Indeed, *RB* weaves together material from both these pages, a weave that Hutch also claims as his own by reproducing this passage from *RB* without acknowledging distinctions between my language and Barthes' and without citing *RB.*

The third instance is perhaps the most ironic, for it reproduces a long passage from *RB* that deals specifically with what Hutch says the postmodern study of biography elides—the body. It occurs in Hutch's note 53 (page 143), which is prompted by this sentence in his main text (page 138): "Attention to the laws of the mortal body, along with all hurt and healing, locates the religious centre of studying lives in a radical material base for biography." Hutch's note 53 reads:

> See Ruddick; and E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). Scarry recognizes the body—injury to bodies—as a locus for the destruction and reconstruction of cultural and historical meanings. For example, she says: "The attributes of a particular political philosophy are most apparent in those places where it intersects with, touches or agrees not to touch, the human body." Especially in wartime (apart from other interpositions by the state in and on the human body), this becomes a "radical self-alteration" because "the human body

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

opens itself and allows 'the nation' to be registered there in the wound." Thus, "the injuring [of war] not only provides a means of choosing between disputants [the winner commonly has or perceives he or she has less physical, economic, or other 'injuries'] but also provides, by its massive opening of human bodies, a way of reconnecting . . . derealized and disembodied beliefs with the force and power of the material world." That is, "in the dispute that leads to war, . . . 'cultural reality' . . . is exposed as a 'cultural fiction'." Subsequently, "as the dispute intensifies and endures, the exposed 'cultural fiction' may seem in danger of eroding further into a 'cultural fraud'." Injury reconnects threatened cultural belief structures to a "radical material base, . . . investing them with the bodily attribute of reality until there is time [after the conflict] . . . to consent to them, enact them, make them real." (Quoted from pages 111–112, 128, 132.) A material dynamic similar to war occurs during childbirth. See N. Huston, "The Matrix of War: Mothers and Heroes," in *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by S. R. Suleiman (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 119–136.

The corresponding passages in *RB* are on pages 160–61 and 165, amidst a discussion of the Florence Nightingale section of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*. The passage on pages 160–61 reads as follows:

> "The attributes of a particular political philosophy," Scarry argues, as if she were explicating Stracheyan biography, "are most apparent in those places where it intersects with, touches or agrees not to touch, the human body." This intersection, powerful enough in peacetime to authorize medical, legal, and other interpositions by the state in and on the human body, becomes in wartime a "radical self-alteration," because "the human body opens itself and allows 'the nation' to be registered there in the wound." Thus "*the injuring* [of war] not only provides a means of choosing between disputants [the winner commonly has or perceives he has less physical, economic, or other 'injuries'] but also *provides by its massive opening of human bodies, a way of reconnecting . . . derealized and disembodied beliefs with the force and power of the material world.*" That is, "in the dispute that leads to war, . . . 'cultural reality' . . . is exposed as a 'cultural fiction."' Subsequently, "as the dispute intensifies and endures, the exposed 'cultural fiction' may seem in danger of eroding further into a 'cultural fraud."' Injury reconnects threatened cultural belief structures to a "radical material base, . . . investing them with the bodily attribute of reality until there is time [after the conflict] . . . to consent to them, enact them, make them real."

This passage from *RB* is followed by the superscripted note number 43. Endnote 43 reads: "Scarry, pp. 111–12, 128, 132." The first reference to Scarry's book occurs in endnote 42, which offers the full bibliographical information: "Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: the making and unmaking of the world* (New York and Oxford: Oxford, 1985)."

Once again, as in the Barthes example above, Hutch has reproduced, without acknowledgement, a weaving together of my language and that of my source

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Scarry this time), more or less exactly as it appears in *RB*. The differences are: *RB* does not cite Ruddick, as Hutch does in his sentence one; *RB* does not have Hutch's sentence two (although the word "recognizes" is, obviously, a key one in a book entitled *Recognizing Biography*); *RB* does not have the phrases "For example, she says," in Hutch's sentence three, nor the phrases "Especially in" and "apart from" in Hutch's sentence four; the words "other interpositions by the state in and on the human body" are mine and have been interpolated into Hutch's sentence four from another clause in *RB* that Hutch otherwise elides; Hutch has eliminated a comma after "self-alteration" in his sentence four, added a comma after "Thus" at the beginning of his sentence five, and added the phrase "or she" later in sentence five; and Hutch has romanized material in italics in *RB* and *The Body in Pain*. Otherwise, all the language before the last two sentences in Hutch's note 53 has been reproduced from *RB*, pages 160–61, a reproduction that not only presents some of that language as his when it is, in fact, mine, but also indicates that the specific way in which I wove together various passages from Scarry's book is a weave of his manufacturing.

Finally, the reference at the end of Hutch's note 53 to the way in which Huston's article connects war and childbirth is, I would maintain, prompted by the virtually page-long passage in *RB* (page 165) that begins: "Nancy Huston explains: religious, anthropological, psychoanalytic, sociological, literary, and other discourses reveal that childbirth and war are metaphorically analogous and reciprocal—violent bodily events that differentiate (as they equate) the sexes, and that are almost invariably compared and contrasted with each other." The entire passage in *RB* (I'll spare readers the rest of it) concludes by referring to an endnote that cites Huston's article (page 212, note 49). As far as I know, I was not only the first person working in the study of biography to use Scarry's book in order to discuss the body in biographical narrative, but also the first to connect Scarry's argument to Huston's. Hutch's note 53 does not credit *RB* with either this use or this connection.

As I have already indicated, I find it ironic that Hutch should borrow—without acknowledgement—specific ideas, exact language, and particular methods of summarizing and connecting sources from a book that presents itself throughout as the very thing he is writing against (*RB* proposes, page 1, "to explore the poetics of biography from a post-modern perspective"). His having done so is, of course, not only ironic but unfortunate. I am not pleased to have to bring these borrowings to the attention of *Biography*'s readers. Indeed, the whole matter depresses me. But I feel that, by irresponsibly incorporating *Recognizing Biography* into the textual body of his article, Hutch has, to borrow his phrase, "pursued embodied knowing" (127) just a little too far.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RICHARD A. HUTCH

A Response

I acknowledge that William H. Epstein's book, *Recognizing Biography,* is an important contribution to the study of biographical narrative. His interest in "the living body" is commendable. It is an interest I share. However, I am unable to go as far as the author may wish me to go in assuming his book's singularity in the context of my article. Although his book is compelling in its own right, one must recognize that it, like the writing of others who think about biography, stems from shared scholarship and shared sources as well. My article in *Biography* was hardly an intentional response to Epstein's book, just an attempt to synthesize some prevalent themes of interest to students of biography and religious studies, who are, by and large, only on the margins of literary criticism studies.

Thus, what was put together included materials from the work of Epstein and others, and, I believed, that sufficient due acknowledgement was given to all of them. In the first of the three instances where Epstein believes borrowings from his work were not sufficiently acknowledged, he draws a distinction between a sentence drawn from his work and a quotation embedded within it. My mistake, it seems, was to acknowledge in a footnote that the entire sentence was from Epstein's book, rather than to limit such an acknowledgement to the embedded quotation. The embedded quotation about the popularity of biography was, indeed, the meat of the matter, but the rest of the sentence came along with it. There was no intention to mislead anyone, but greater care could have been exercised in my use of this quotation. Perhaps the effort to cast widely my acknowledgement of Epstein was to err on the side of generosity, or inclusion, in regard to documentation procedures.

In the second instance, a quotation from the work of Roland Barthes was shared with Epstein. Epstein rightly points out that mistakes were made as I wrote out the translation of Barthes' comments, and failed to give a complete pages citation from Barthes' *S/Z.* Epstein provided the correct quotation and citation, and I acknowledge here that the quotation of Barthes was likely to have been sighted first in *Recognizing Biography.* Any use of connective phrasing to link together the material from Barthes that Epstein says I borrowed from him occurred inadvertently, and I erred on the side of exclusion, which was naive of me. After all, it was Barthes, not Epstein, who was being presented, though some of the latter's connective phrasing, itself not ordinarily deemed to be of the same consequence for readers as (in this instance) Barthes' words would be, did enter into the picture, and I acknowledge this.

The third instance raised by Epstein is similar to the second, but the length to which it is taken appears excessive for the treatment of a footnote, itself an extended quotation from Scarry's *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the World. I acknowledge here that some of Epstein's language, specifically the phrasing that links together slabs of the quotation from Scarry, and which itself could strike many as standard wording available to all, appeared in footnote 53. Epstein acknowledges that there are significant substantive differences between his rendering of quotations of Scarry and mine. To point out, as Epstein does, that I wrote, "Scarry recognizes the body. . . ," and then to suggest that my use of the word, "recognizes," is somehow derived from the title of his own book, could be overly stretched. And it is odd to read that "all the language" in the footnote (but for "two sentences") has been reproduced from pages 160–61 of *Recognizing Biography.* After all, most of the lengthy footnote is actually by far the Scarry quotation.

I learned of Huston's work on war and childbirth not from Epstein's book, as he implies I did, but indirectly from Ruddick's, *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace,* in which is cited (pp. 277 n. 35, 286) the well-known volume of feminist psychoanalytic and philosophical thought edited by S. R. Suleiman, *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives.* Not only is Huston's article included in Suleiman's volume in the section, "Mothers," where I first found it in conjunction with research I had undertaken on the work of Julia Kristeva (whose article, "Stabat Mater," precedes Huston's in the volume), families, and religious sacrifice. Huston's piece also is specifically cited (p. 276 n. 26), and sentences from it are quoted (204) by Ruddick herself in her chapter, "Histories of Human Flesh," itself a chapter that was directly relevant to my article. Ruddick also cites (276 n. 17, 276 n. 22, 285), quotes (199), and paraphrases (202) sentences from Scarry's book, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World,* in her chapter on "Histories of Human Flesh." (These citations from Ruddick's book, originally published by Beacon Press, Boston, 1989, are taken from the British edition published by The Women's Press Limited, London, 1990, which is the edition currently available to me.) It was in Ruddick's chapter that I had my first and genuine reckoning with Huston's work and with Scarry's point of view. This particular track of my discovery, beginning with Ruddick, is mentioned by Epstein, and he indicates that her work was not to be found in his own book, though one grants that her book appeared after his.

Finally, perhaps by dint of personality I am less punctilious than some would wish me to be. One would be hard pressed to apologize for his or her personal style, even as it may unfold as pen goes to paper, bringing about shortfalls from time to time in one's own eyes but, perhaps, mainly in the eyes of others. I view Epstein as a senior colleague. Thus, if in his view my article "pursued embodied knowing" (127), as he wrote, "just a little too far," I regret overstepping his mark and apologize with all due acknowledgement. I reiterate, however, that my article was never meant to be a "response" to his book, just a synthesis of interdisciplinary themes evident to me in biography and religious studies. As the then editor of *Biography* wrote to me (9 December 1991), "You have written one of the richest and most challenging articles ever to be offered to *Biography.* You have met some contemporary issues head on. I personally disagree with some of your conclusions about religion, and so will others, but the argument is complex and absorbing."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAUL JOHN EAKIN. *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992. 249 pp. $29.95.

LIZ STANLEY. *The auto/biographical I.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992. 289 pp. £35. $16.95 paper.

In the recent history of the theory of autobiography, it is possible to speak of two important periods. The first was marked by the "naive" referential approach, when autobiography was seen as a factual genre where the author was telling of his or her life from a subjective but sincere point of view. The model for this approach is of course Rousseau, but more recently it is represented by the "first generation" of autobiography theorists—Pascal, Gusdorf, Olney, and Lejeune—who among themselves represent a rich variety of theoretical orientations. The second period was brought about by the poststructuralist revolution, which made suspect all the elements of the autobiographical pact: autos, bios, and graphein, that is, the self, the life, and the writing. In its extreme form, we can only have a text which has no relationship with any kind of "external" reality or real events and in which the authorial self is purely fictional. Thus there is no referent and no representation, and both the author and the reader are free to impute any signification and truth value to any statement or person in the text. Here the theoretical references include Barthes, Derrida, and Foucault, as well as Rorty, Austin, White, and Carr.

It is difficult to say to what extent autobiographical theory has really absorbed the second period. At least feminist autobiography has adopted this position quite wholeheartedly, but one can perhaps say that any self-respecting theorist in the field has had to modify his or her own positions because of this assault on the basic tenets of autobiographical writing. On the other hand, it is difficult to point to any actual autobiographies which would be adequate from this point of view. In fact, even the most central figures of the poststructuralist theses—Barthes, Foucault, or feminists—have in different ways sinned against their own precepts, so that one could speak of a fascination with the forbidden fruit.

Recently we have seen a new period, a new orientation emerge: those who wish to resurrect the specificity of autobiography as a genre, still acknowledging to some extent the pertinence of the poststructuralist/deconstructionist critique, but rebelling against it especially in the absolute denial of referentiality. To put it simply, if there is no "my life" that the author of an autobiography can tell about, there is no autobiography. But as both autobiographies and biographies continue to flourish, the life must be there, too.

The two books reviewed here, Paul John Eakin's *Touching the World* and Liz Stanley's *The auto/biographical I,* are good examples of this new orientation, albeit from very different perspectives. Eakin is a theorist of literature who has written several important books on autobiography, discussing in particular the relationship of fiction and autobiography. Liz Stanley is a feminist social historian and sociologist, who has herself written several biographical studies and is especially well acquainted with feminist autobiography and biography (she prefers the term auto/biography, to cover both possibilities). She moves with equal ease among high literary as among unpublished, "ordinary" autobiographies, while Eakin is a purely literary theorist of autobiographies.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Both books are extremely interesting and fascinating texts, reflections of the current turmoil in the writing of autobiography and the demise of the poststructuralist orientation in autobiography. In literature theory, it is now commonplace to denigrate the influence of Derrida, Barthes, and Co. as a fashion long since overcome, but it is clear that their effects have been much deeper and more permanent than a mere fashion, and that most of the work related to any kind of qualitative sociology, ethnography, or social history is now more or less informed by their conceptual world. They give us, as it were, a set of new stills (to use the photographic imagery of Liz Stanley) of the relatively slow-moving film of autobiography as a genre.

Paul John Eakin's *Touching the World* begins with Barthes and his paradoxical denial of referentiality, which at the same time he implicitly acknowledges in his autobiographical writings. This introduces Eakin's dilemma: although he agrees with the poststructuralist argument about the indecidability of referentiality, he finds it undeniable that autobiographies continue to be read as if they were different from "pure" fiction. "Ordinary" people writing their autobiographies are completely committed to the specific referentiality of their stories, clearly distinguishing them from more sophisticated literary autobiographers. Let me note here that I am reading Eakin's book from the perspective of a sociologist who uses nonliterary autobiographies, and for whom the literary discussions of autobiographies often seem quite unnecessarily convoluted. Actually, Eakin is an exceptionally straightforward theorist in a field where nothing is what it seems—or even not seems—to be; so much so that this may not even be seen as a compliment from Eakin's point of view. Let me also hasten to add that the book makes some bows to these "rules" of the field, but not so much that they would make reading impossible.

Eakin asks "What difference does it make that I should continue to believe autobiography to be a profoundly referential art, especially in light of my sense of the play of fiction in its practice? This is a question I have been asking myself for a long time, and I recognize that to some it may seem to be an unaccountable surrender to some impossible Romance of the Real." Precisely this "surrender" makes Eakin's book different, and better, than so much current muddle about autobiography.

Touching the World covers a broad spectrum of different autobiographies and their referential aspects, all mixed in a well-informed and interesting reading of very different sociologists and philosophers. Eakin's familiarity with the French scene (he has translated Lejeune and Barthes is a very important influence) is an added plus. For me, not being a literary theorist, the most interesting parts of the book were the general discussion of referentiality and the problems of self in autobiography. My main reproach is that the book ends very inconclusively, with a discussion that does not seem central to its theme. In the final analysis, one does not get a clear enough answer to the question of the role of referentiality in autobiography. In this regard, Liz Stanley's book is much more satisfying.

In this review I shall discuss Stanley's book from the referentiality/reality angle, and leave it to others to discuss its adequacy from the point of view of feminist theory. I found the work fascinating, and would recommend it warmly to anybody, male or female.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The auto/biographical I is divided into three parts: on auto/biography, on (auto)biography, and on feminist auto/biography, a theme also discussed extensively in the Introduction. As noted, the term auto/biography refers to all kinds of life writing: autobiographies, biographies, diaries, and also to the links between them. Stanley contends that the boundaries between them cannot really be upheld, and that "biography" especially has been a domain largely untouched by the theoretical developments in "autobiography." In the first part of the book, the field in general is discussed; in the second, biographies connected with the author's own biography (this is especially popular in feminist life writing); finally, there is an attempt (somewhat half-hearted in comparison to the other parts) to develop a theory of feminist auto/biography.

The Introduction contains a very interesting critique of poststructuralism and postmodernism, and advocates a rather exceptional view of the relationship among modernity, postmodernity, and autobiography. For Stanley, the rupture discussed above is essentially caused by modernism, with all the basic antirealist impulses coming from modernist literature, such as Virginia Woolf or Gertrude Stein. She rejects vigorously the "necrophilic relationship" of feminism to the "death of the author," foucauldian and barthesian theories of which are propagated by many feminists.

From my point of view, Stanley is sometimes a very elusive, slippery author. On the one hand, she has a very sensible, matter-of-fact relationship to the poststructuralist excesses and incoherences; on the other, she is clearly marked by the basic tenets of postructuralist discussion: life is not "out there," but everything is a construction; reading is an interpretative and productive process, and so on. She even says quite bluntly that "auto/biography is not and cannot be referential to a life"—thus refuting in one sentence the whole of Eakin's book, and a lot of her own. However, she is remarkably clear-headed concerning the fact that it cannot all be invention or interpretation, and that it would be a mistake to eliminate "bio" from autobiography, as has been suggested. In fact, the book is partly inconsistent, containing very different theoretical selves, of which I prefer the one for whom bios is the central binding element in autobiography. I also think this is the more recent self; the others represent more or less the kind of theoretical development I described at the beginning.

There are some texts that I'd have left outside the scope of the book, and the last section on feminist autobiography I found very unsatisfying (no pun intended): it seems that this is a question which is simply unsolvable. Perhaps there is no feminist autobiography. In fact, for me the main quality of a "good" autobiography is simply that it makes an honest attempt to tell a life, and succeeds inasmuch as it is communicative and understandable to any interested reader. This means that male readers should be able to understand lesbian autobiographies, white readers should be able to understand black autobiographies, or, say, Bosnian women readers should be able to understand (but not necessarily accept) the autobiographies of Serbian soldiers.

To conclude: both these books are important and relevant to the task of bringing autobiography out of the barren (sic) desert of poststructuralism and deconstruction.

J. P. Roos
University of Helsinki

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ALAN C. ELMS, *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology.* New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 272 pp. $25.00.

Whether the so-called alliance of biography and psychology is easy or uneasy, Elms's unusual combination of daring, modesty, and humor helps him to navigate successfully on the border between these two fields. In his recent book, *Uncovering Lives,* he provides both a fascinating demonstration of the use of psychobiography, and a set of guidelines for others who want to undertake the study of "real" individual lives in psychological context.

The book opens with some general questions on what psychologists can do for the field of biography, and vice versa. Its methodological chapters make various recommendations for a good psychobiography: using a broad base of theories, looking for the healthy and positive forces of the personality rather than its pathology, and weighing alternative explanations against one another. Notably, Elms himself does not promise to uphold his own standards, because, as he admits, "psychobiography is a tricky business and it's hard to keep all the balls in the air all the time" (17).

Elms's psychobiographical work (parts of which have previously been published in journals) are grouped into three sections. They deal with famous theorists in psychology—Freud, Jung, Allport and Skinner; writers of science fiction or the fantastic, such as Asimov, Baum, and Nabokov; and political figures ranging from Carter to Saddam Hussein. In an attempt to understand major issues in these persons' lives, Elms uses a variety of theoretical concepts, yet most of them belong to the psychoanalytic family, at least in the sense of drawing heavily on childhood events and parents' personalities and influence as determining adult development. If Elms had competing explanations in mind for the questions he raises in his protagonists' lives, he does not share them with his readers. We are given only his fully digested solutions to the riddles, with few indications regarding Elms's deliberations en route, and only small margins for uncertainty and doubt.

One standard to which Elms does adhere, is use of a broad variety of sources. I am particularly impressed by Elms's daring in personally approaching or writing to prominent culture-heroes such as Skinner or Nabokov. Indeed, in two of the most brilliant chapters on specific issues in the lives of Asimov and Nabokov, Elms's (successful as well as unsuccessful) personal interactions with these figures result in new insights into their readily available stories and published autobiographical documents.

For dealing with literary figures, Elms proposes a functional model, according to which literary work fulfills expressive, defensive, or restitutive functions for its author. This allows him to bridge the life of an author and the literary work in a meaningful way, which is not too different from psychoanalytic reading of literature. For example, Elms's analysis of Nabokov's story, "Cloud, Castle, Lake," demonstrates the writer's "claustral needs," namely (according to Murray) the need to return to the safety of the mother's womb, and concerns with being ejected from it. Elms presents his sensitive reading of the story, and then goes on to connect this claustral imagery to Nabokov's life as an exile, with a detailed study of personal crises he experienced in 1937—the year in which the story was written.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Elms's concern is to focus on a particular question or riddle in the life/work of his protagonists (alas, all male culture-heroes), rather than to provide cues to the total life story or personality: thus, for example, his famous work on Freud's identification with Leonardo, his attempt to understand why Skinner wrote "Walden Two" at that particular time in his life, or his speculations on what in President Bush's personality led him to declare war in the Persian Gulf. The pattern is generally consistent: a central riddle in the biography, followed by a solution, based on analysis of various documents and viewed in the light of a psychological theory or concept. The variety of riddles and solutions is both illuminating and entertaining. However, when looking at them in the context of the field of classical biography, it is impossible not to notice that full-fledged biographies, which concern themselves with single lives, produce work of different quality. Briefly stated, when a biographer or psychobiographer dedicates years to the study of a person, a deep relationship develops between the two (sometimes compared to transference or counter-transference in dynamic therapy). The extent of this involvement infuses the biography with layers of emotional identification or competition, intersubjective communication, empathy, and compassion on the part of the writer towards his or her protagonist. Although Elms (following Freud) justly warns against too much admiration and identification with one's hero, longer and more dedicated projects of research and writing about a single individual create psychological processes which may add depth and personal meaning to the biographical work.

In the last chapter of the book, Elms urges psychobiographers to "increase the scientific sophistication of their research and the accuracy of their case histories" (243). He quotes from two leading figures in the field, Runyan and Alexander, to propose scientific criteria and recommendations for psychobiographical studies. The discussion in this chapter is certainly important for evaluating contributions to the field and for the promotion of its status among psychologists and biographers alike. In our post-modern era, however, with the decline of belief in absolute truth even in the field of history, and a growing interest and respect for subjectivity and polyphonic voices, aspirations for scientific excellence may be questionable as a major criteria for a biographical study. All kinds of scientific, sophisticated, well-researched biographies, as well as more artistic, literary, and interpretative works, both from historical and psychological perspectives, should find their place in this multiform discourse, in which the most important criteria for excellence are meaningful and coherent explorations of lives and personalities. Within this pluralistic framework, Elms's work is a unique contribution and a notable step forward in advancing the field of psychobiography.

AMIA LIEBLICH
The Hebrew University

SUZANNE NALBANTIAN. *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Anaïs Nin.* New York: St. Martin's, 1993. 223 pp. $35.00.

At the outset of her comparative study of Proust, Joyce, Woolf, and Nin, Suzanne Nalbantian admits that "all novels are autobiographical to some

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

degree" (viii). At the same time, no autobiography, including those "in the strict sense of the word," can be completely "true" because they are subject to deformation (through faulty memory, limitations of space, and reticence). However, instead of concluding, along with a number of literary theorists of the past twenty years or so, that the difference between autobiography and fiction is one of degree rather than kind, Nalbantian tries to snatch the basis of interpretation away from the reader and hand it back to the individual author by positing an intermediary category, "aesthetic autobiography," whose story is that of the conscious artistic process through which the "truths of fact" are transformed into the "truths of fiction" (61). Juxtaposing an author's private and public writings, she argues, can clarify the issue of what is literature.

Taking her terminology mainly from Proust, Nalbantian shows how aesthetic autobiographies achieve this distance between author and fictional character by the creation of what Nin "under the influence of Proust" (88) called "magical composites" (54), in which artifacts, places, relationships, and the authorial "I" itself are compounded from a number of different sources, defying outright identification and creating "rich ambiguity" (80). Most distinctively, the focus of aesthetic autobiographies is on the problems of art and artists: they contain within themselves the theories on which they are based, in the same way that Proust declared, in *Contre Saint-Beuve,* that the "whole novel is simply the implementation of the artistic principles expressed in the text" (70).

Within their "common aesthetics of transmutation" (viii), Nalbantian identifies a characteristic technique for each writer. Proust, for example, often resorted to "misrepresentation," incessantly erasing the tracks of his life in his fiction by making places, experiences, and people into unidentifiable composites, as in the famous case of his transformation of his lover, Alfred Agostinelli, into the character Albertine. While this technique of "misrepresentation," or "substitution," reveals both the novelist's discretion and his desire to conceal his homosexuality, it also illustrates the Proustian conception that the value of the Other exists mainly in its ability to "act upon the Subject, whose psychology is that of the artist" (95).

In contrast to Proust's subterfuges, the exiled Joyce obsessively filled the Dublin of his writings with verifiable detail. However, Joyce's mature fiction stylizes these realistic portrayals of places, experiences, and family members into symbols of Ireland as a whole. These stylized images were then further subject to mythification, a technique Joyce compared to the mystery of the Catholic Communion, "converting the bread of everyday life into something that has a permanent artistic life of its own" (110).

Although Virginia Woolf was drawn to Proust and Joyce's use of the quotidian, her disapproval of the "damned egotistical self" caused her to regard the personal as so much "cotton wool" that needed to be solidified in the formalism of art. Woolf's "displacement" of her longing for her dead mother onto the symbol of the lighthouse, and its further "condensation" into the line drawn down the middle of Lily Briscoe's painting, shows her adherence to Roger Fry's definition of art as not an imitation of, but "an equivalent for life" (155).

In contrast to the depersonalizing tactics of the previous writers, Anaïs Nin objectifies, transposes—"embalms"—her life experiences in her psyche, "endowing them with configurations similar to dreams" (171). Nalbantian is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

aware that some readers might question her inclusion of Nin, because among other reasons she is better known for her *Diaries* (1914–1974) than for her fiction, but Nin's theoretical statements are crucial to Nalbantian's understanding of the relation between life-writing and fiction. According to Nin, the writer of fiction must "transplant" autobiographical material onto a "universal plane" related to what Jung, in "On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetry," calls the "suprapersonal" (172).

Nalbantian asserts that this "universal plane" is one that "perennially exists," and her concentration on the early twentieth century is only because "that was a propitious historical moment when self-expression was being analyzed after the loose subjectivism of the previous century" (198). Actually, the appearance of these works at this particular historical moment has to do with other more important factors, such as the exhaustion of empirical realism and an intellectual climate that gave rise to such scientists of subjectivity as Sigmund Freud.

Fascination with the unconscious processes of creation, which Henry James likened to an "intellectual pot-au-feu," was endemic during this period, finding its most famous expression, as Nalbantian points out, in T. S. Eliot's assertion that the "more perfect the artist," the more perfect the ability to "digest" occurrences of purely personal significance into something "universal." However, in her enthusiasm for Jung, Nalbantian discounts Freud. It scarcely seems possible that she has overlooked the fact that in Freud's first published book, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), he gives a detailed account of many of the same techniques, among them "substitution," "condensation," and "displacement," that Nalbantian identifies in *Aesthetic Autobiography.*

Another, more basic objection is to Nalbantian's assumption that the "facts" of an author's life can indeed be known. Nalbantian herself notes that recent studies of Woolf have revealed evidence of sexual abuse that contradict the idyllic childhood depicted in her private writings, and as Kathleen Ferris's recent study of Joyce's syphilis and its effect on his career suggests, even authors who adopted a self-revelatory stance nevertheless managed to keep important aspects of their lives secret. (Incidentally, in Rome Joyce contemplated the Forum, not the Parthenon (115)).

Finally, if Nalbantian's use of such phrases as "higher truths," "true artist," and "universal plane," seems strangely anachronistic, so is her overall aim: to restore the romantic conception of the individual artist as the site of artistic creation (198). Yet these writers' efforts to "kill" themselves out of their autobiographically based works seem to suggest that they themselves had, at some level, an idea of the concept of textuality, and it is to this book's credit that with its extensive French and English-language sources, including theories of autobiography, it provides insights regarding individual authors even to those who might disagree with its basic premise. In all, the readers who are most likely to derive benefit from a perusal of this book are those interested in the relation of Proust and Nin, life and fiction.

SUSAN PAVLOSKA
Osaka Women's University

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed Elsewhere

AKHMATOVA, ANNA

Anna Akhmatova: Poet and Prophet. Roberta Reeder. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. 610 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Robert P. Hughes. *New York Times Book Review,* January 1, 1995, pp. 11–12.

"I am loath to be so critical of Ms. Reeder's intrepid undertaking. No scholar in Russia—where one would inevitably be so much better equipped—has yet attempted such a large-scale coherent account of Akhmatova's life and career. This biography will be superseded, but it does represent an ambitious effort in constructing the story of the life of a remarkable Russian poet."

ARENDT, HANNAH

Between Friends: The Correspondence of Hannah Arendt and Mary McCarthy, 1949–1975. Edited by Carol Brightman. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994. 412 pp. $34.95.

Reviewed by Lore Segal. *New York Times Book Review,* February 19, 1995, pp. 14–15.

"Their letters tend to open like everybody else's, with puzzled regret at not having written sooner. Both were extraordinarily active: they thought, wrote and published; they taught, lectured and traveled; they leaped into controversies."

ARNOLD, ROSEANNE BARR

My Sister Roseanne: The True Story of Roseanne Barr Arnold. Geraldine Barr with Ted Schwarz. New York: Birch Lane/Carol Publishing. $19.95.

Reviewed by Susan Shapiro. *New York Times Book Review,* February 19, 1995, p. 22.

"The worst sections of 'My Sister Roseanne' sound like sour grapes. . . ."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BALDWIN, JAMES (See "Wright, Richard")

BARBIE

Forever Barbie: The Unauthorized Biography of a Real Doll. M. G. Lord. New York: Morrow, 1994. 326 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Amy M. Spindler. *New York Times Book Review,* February 5, 1995, p. 22.

"Ms. Lord is [very defensive about Barbie] plowing through layer upon layer of criticism heaped on Barbie over the years and reasoning through it all, often with sardonic, knowing voice and sometimes with that of a zealot."

BARRETT, ELIZABETH

Dared and Done: The Marriage of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning. Julia Markus. New York: Knopf, 1995. 382 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Jenny Unglow. *New York Times Book Review,* February 12, 1995, p. 19.

". . . the lack of focus in *Dared and Done: The Marriage of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning* is particularly disconcerting, given Ms. Markus's extensive research and evident enthusiasm.

Unlike Daniel Karlin's 1985 study, *The Courtship of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning,* Ms. Markus's book offers no serious poetic critique. 'Men and Women' and 'Aurora Leigh' are trivialized by the implacably personal contexts in which they are presented, while 'Casa Guidi Windows' and 'Poems Before Congress' are elevated to make Elizabeth Barrett Browning *the* poet of the Italian *risorgimento.* Here, alas, assertion replaces insight: the critics are castigated for ignoring the 'historical backdrop against which she had her vision. As 'Mrs. Browning,' not as a wife and mother, but as a *poet,* she suffered an unjust fate.'

Nor is Ms. Markus much clearer on the Brownings' ideas. We learn that Robert 'loved to theorize about the arts,' but evasiveness befogs the text when it veers toward the Browning's interest in the work of the Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg."

THE BEACH BOYS (See "Wilson, Brian")

BECKETT, SAMUEL (See "Wright, Richard")

BRANDEIS, LOUIS D.

Brandeis: Beyond Progressivism. Philippa Strum. Lawrence: U of Kansas, 1993. 228 pp. 25.00.

Reviewed by Thomas K. McCraw. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1350.

"The political scientist Philippa Strum, author of *Louis D. Brandeis: Justice for the People* (1984), adds in this new book a fuller explication of Brandeis's approach to modern industrial capitalism, to Zionism, to education, and to civil and economic liberties. . . . The problem confronting any scholar who would approach Brandeis through the prism of intellectual history is that he was so much more a man of action than of thought. . . . Author Strum concedes as much, but she seems to think that Brandeis belongs in tall philosophic company, and her book skirts the borders of hagiography."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BROWNING, ROBERT (See "Barrett, Elizabeth")

BUNCHE, RALPH

Ralph Bunche: An American Life. Brian Urquhart. New York: Norton, 1993. 496 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Gerald Horne. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1367–68.

"This biography is based primarily on the voluminous Bunche Papers at the University of California, Los Angeles. Bunche was a tireless writer of letters, and some of the most piquant moments in this book emerge from an often vitriolic correspondence flowing between him and his wife.

Though biographers have been criticized quite justifiably for engaging in psychological speculation beyond the sphere of evidence, Bunche's self-confessed tendency to be 'fractious, ill-tempered and even crude' at home while exuding 'courteousness' and 'fairness' at work cries out for informed insight that would tell us more about this famed diplomat and his mode of diplomacy."

BYRNES, JAMES F.

Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes. David Robertson. New York: Norton, 1994. 639 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Kenneth S. Davis. *New York Times Book Review,* December 18, 1994, pp. 32–33.

"Faced with the problem of writing an interesting book about so essentially uninteresting a man, Mr. Robertson, a poet and former newspaper editor, has solved it triumphantly by emphasizing context. Prodigious research has enabled him to produce a richly detailed narrative, and the details are almost as much about the people, the forces and the issues amid which Byrnes made his way as they are about Byrnes himself. There are full-length portraits of the men who most helped his career, notably the South Carolina populist leader and demagogue Pitchfork Ben Tilman and the financier Bernard Baruch. There are illuminating accounts of every project, every historical development in which Byrnes had even a minor part. As a result, 'Sly and Able' is history as well as biography, rising to a climax in its account of the years 1945–46, when Byrnes's attitudes and decisions at the very apex of American political power helped determine some of the main features of the America we live in today."

CALDWELL, ERSKINE

Erskine Caldwell: The Journey from Tobacco Road, A Biography. Dan B. Miller. New York: Knopf, 1994. 459 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Florence King. *New York Times Book Review,* February 12, 1995, p. 29.

"Gifted with the objective insight of a born biographer, Mr. Miller has discovered more about Caldwell than Caldwell himself ever knew, and he tells his story in prose so vivid and readable that even literary criticism becomes a page turner in his hands."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DELL, FLOYD

Floyd Dell: The Life and Times of an American Rebel. Douglas Clayton. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1994. 352 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Douglas A. Sylva. *New York Times Book Review,* January 1, 1995, p. 18.

"Douglas Clayton exhibits the American fascination for the crusading, radical literary figure. In fact, Mr. Clayton, the humanities editor of the University of Nebraska Press, often stands in awe of his subject, heaping praise on Dell (1887–1969), reveling in his charm, chuckling at his witticisms, winking at his peccadilloes."

DENG XIAOPING

Deng Xiaoping, My Father. Deng Maomao. New York: Basic, 1994. 498 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Ian Buruma. *New Yorker,* February 13, 1995, pp. 82–86.

Maomao's "closeness to Deng is the only possible reason one might want to read her book, which is a turgid, barely literate piece of propaganda, presented as a biography of her father up until 1949."

Reviewed by Merle Goldman. *New York Times Book Review,* February 12, 1995, p. 15.

"Writing under her nickname, Maomao, Deng Rong is her father's personal secretary and the most important interpreter of his thick Sichuan accent into Mandarin Chinese; she has been called her father's eyes and ears. But her biography, *Deng Xiaoping, My Father,* reads like an official history. Most of its interpretations are based on the orthodox party view of pre-1949 history. True to her description of her father as a man of few words, she seems unable to evoke personal insights or anecdotes about important events in which he took part. Her information is based mainly on secondary sources. Many names and places, listed without explanations, have little meaning even to a knowledgeable Western reader. The book's numerous repetitions and unidiomatic English (the product of 10 different Chinese translators) further confuse an already confusing narrative.

Most disappointing, the biography barely touches on controversial issues."

DOSTOYEVSKY, FEODOR

Dostoyevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865–1871. Joseph Frank. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995. 523 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Stephen Jan Parker. *New York Times Book Review,* February 19, 1995, pp. 8–10.

"In *Dostoyevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865–1871,* Mr. Frank, as in his three earlier volumes, excels as an intellectual historian whose stated purpose is to provide a cultural, literary, social and biographical context for Dostoyevsky's works. He succeeds even though the task in this volume is more difficult, because the setting is European and not Russian and the primary sources, largely Dos-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

toyevsky's irregular correspondence and his wife's later recollections, are often taken up with mundane, quotidian affairs rather than the intellectual matters that interest Mr. Frank. Conjecture often vies with hard evidence when he is trying to establish what Dostoyevsky read and what he knew about distant Russian matters.

Nonetheless, his methodology remains intact: he delineates the social and cultural conflicts in Russia at that time, determines Dostoyevsky's thoughts and opinions regarding them and then explicates the novels and novellas foremost as works in which characters serve as 'the embodiment of certain social-cultural ideas and attitudes' and the fictions themselves serve primarily polemical purposes."

DU BRAY, TOUSSAINT

Un Editeur d'oeuvres littéraires au XVIIe siècle: Toussaint du Bray (1604–1636). Roméo Arbour. Geneva: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1992. 396 pp.

Reviewed by Ian Maclean. *French Studies* 48.3 (July 1994): 323–24.

"Comprehensive bio-bibliographical study of a major literary publisher."

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Legend. D. D. R. Owen. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. 256 pp. $21.95.

Reviewed by Peter V. Davies. *French Studies* 48.3 (July 1994): 313–14.

"This biography written for the general reader, is nevertheless both informative and thought-provoking."

ELLISON, RALPH

Heroism And The Black Intellectual: Ralph Ellison, Politics, and Afro-American Intellectual Life. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994. 156 pp. Cloth, $29.95; Paper, $12.95.

Reviewed by Charles Johnson. *New York Times Book Review,* February 5, 1995, p. 15.

"Although Ralph Ellison's body of work consists only of *Invisible Man* and two collections of essays, *Shadow and Act* and *Going to the Territory,* these works display insight and intellectual generosity rare in 20th-century literature—a generosity I fear is missing from the pages of 'Heroism and the Black Intellectual.'"

FIELDING, HENRY AND SARAH

The Correspondence of Henry and Sarah Fielding. Martin C. Battestin and Oliver Probyn, eds. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993. 207 pp. £35. $55.00.

Reviewed by Guyonne Leduc. *Etudes Anglaises,* no. 4, 1994: 473–75.

This immensely erudite edition is an event in itself, presenting in addition to the already published correspondence, a high number of hitherto unpublished letters, recalling the essential biographical data of Sarah (less well-known than Henry's), vigorously rehabilitating that novelist-hellenist, transcribing faithfully

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the senders' abbreviations and personal idiosyncrasies, and equipping each letter with copious, clarifying notes.

FRANCO, FRANCISCO

Franco: A Biography. Paul Preston. New York: Basic, 1994. 1002 pp. $37.50.

Reviewed by Paul Johnson. *New York Times Book Review,* February 19, 1995, pp. 37–38.

"*Franco: A Biography* is crammed with facts about the dictator's origins, life, personality and doings, including many never before published in English or even in Spanish. It is full of fascinating details, a day-to-day account of the life and work, in a sense like Boswell on Johnson. Spanish historians are going to find it difficult to match, let alone supersede, this study of their most formidable ruler since Philip II in the 16th century.

Yet the book has a flaw that turns Franco into a mystery. Although he says in a prologue that Franco's detractors attributed all his successes to luck and that, in fact, he was 'neither so untalented nor so lucky as his enemies suggest,' Mr. Preston dislikes his subject so much that he finds it almost impossible to concede that Franco had any merits or qualities."

HARDY, THOMAS

Hardy. Martin Seymour-Smith. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. 886 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Kenneth S. David. *New York Times Book Review,* December 18, 1994, pp. 3 & 31.

"Between Mr. Seymour-Smith and Hardy stands a host of other biographers, critics, reviewers, commentators and professors. Rather than pretend they are not there or exist only as an occasional weed to be pulled, Mr. Seymour-Smith goes after them with the blunt fury of a grizzly whose cubs have been cuddled by tourists from Ohio. Calling 'Hardy' a pugnacious book is like calling Saddam Hussein grumpy. One would think that Hardy's biographers—Michael Millgate, R. L. Purdy, Robert Gittings—along with Hardy's second wife, Margaret Thatcher, the current cinema, and a host of publishers, reviewers, critics, and Americans had, at the very least, conspired to insult Mr. Seymour-Smith's family, ridicule his fashion sense and poison his dog."

JONAS, CHARLES

Charles Jonas (1840–1896): Czech National Liberal, Wisconsin Bourbon Democrat. C. Winston Chrislock. Philadelphia: Bach Institute Press, 1993. 209 pp. $37.50.

Reviewed by Helena Polreichova and Zdenek Solle. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1326–27.

"The study of Charles Jonas, an important political and cultural figure in nineteenth-century Europe and the United States, is a rare and deep probe into the difficult and strained circumstances of central European life, into the depressed conditions in which the Czech intelligentsia and the whole nation lived and worked, often emigrating or migrating during the second half of the nineteenth century."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JULIUS II, POPE

Julius II: The Warrior Pope. Christine Shaw. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. 360 pp. $39.95.

Reviewed by Ivan Cloulas. *Revue Historique,* no. 586 (April–June 1993): 621–22.

Julius II was a great Prince of the Church, who was desirous of bequeathing the image of a Church as painted by Michaelangelo and Raphael, and who also imposed his authority over the Council of Pisa. But the author's choice is different: she studies the great aristocrat, the warrior. Her book will be useful to searchers as a guide to the history of princely families fighting for obtaining the papal monarchy, rather than as a study devoted to a giant of the Renaissance.

LAWRENCE, D. H.

The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Volume VII. November 1928–February 1930. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. 683 pp. £60. $90.00.

Reviewed by Emile Delavenay. *Etudes Anglaises,* no. 4, 1994: 485–86.

This volume covers the last sixteen months of D. H. Lawrence's wandering life. Every change of address is passed on to a number of correspondents through innumerable and tiring postcards. In between, fortunately, are a few superb pieces of DHL's descriptive or polemical prose. Exhausted as he was by a tuberculosis he obstinately denied, and although marching inexorably to his death, the novelist had exuberant energy. Rather than admiration, the reading inspires pity.

LEA, LUKE

Luke Lea of Tennessee. Mary Louise Lea Tidwell. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993. 330 pp. Cloth $39.95, paper $15.95.

Reviewed by Anita S. Goodstein. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1349–50.

"Luke Lea (1879–1945) is remembered as publisher of the *Nashville Tennesseean,* as a prominent figure in Tennessee politics, as the Wold War I colonel who on his own initiative attempted to kidnap Kaiser Wilhelm, and by Sewanee alumni as the manager of its glorious, unbeaten football team of 1899. His daughter, Mary Louise Lea Tidwell, wrote this biography as a tribute to her father, who clearly is also her hero. . . . A first biography rather than a definitive one, this study reveals something of the Progressive patrician in politics and a good deal about the devotion of friends and kin to an engaging, extravagant, and intensely individualistic human being."

LOUIS XVI

Louis XVI. John Hardman. New Haven: Yale UP, 1993. 264 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Tom Conner. *French Review* 68 (October 1994): 171–72.

" . . . an eminently readable biography . . . primarily concerned with the reign of Louis XVI. . . . There is little discussion of the future Louis XVI's childhood and adolescence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hardman's task as biographer is a formidable one. How do you do justice to your subject without isolating him from the times; and, conversely, how do you avoid giving precedence to the latter over the former when you are dealing with a complex period like the French Revolution? All things considered, Hardman has done a fine job. However, this biography would have gained much in human psychology if the author had developed the tragic potential of Louis's situation. From early childhood Louis was fascinated by the fate of that other martyr-king, Charles I of England. He was determined to avoid his mistakes, but in the end could not avoid his destiny any more than Charles could. Of course, all is not written in the stars, either, and Louis could have done a lot of things differently. It is indeed bitter to be judged not by your intentions but by your actions."

MAO ZEDONG

The Private Life of Chairman Mao. Li Zhisui. New York: Random House, 1994. 682 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Ian Buruma. *New Yorker,* February 13, 1995, pp. 82–86.

". . . in 1966, [Li] burned the more than forty volumes of notes he had accumulated on his life with Mao. The book at hand is based on his writings since 1977, by which time he had lost all sympathy with the Chairman."

MCCARTHY, MARY (See "Arendt, Hannah")

MONNET, JEAN

Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence. François Duchéne. New York: Norton, 1994. 478 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Jack Hayward. *New York Times Book Review,* December 18, 1994, p. 25.

"*Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence,* an intelligently sympathetic but in no sense uncritical biography—made of five parts wide-ranging description and one part maturely reflective analysis—shows how this conspirator in the public interest worked with and through others to create institutions from which European unity could grow."

NELSON, HORATIO

Nelson: A Personal History. Christopher Hibbert. New York: Viking, 994. 472 pp. $29.00.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* February 13, 1995, p. 88.

"Hibbert's triumph is that he elucidates the sources of both Nelson's vanity and his heroism."

PALMER, ALICE FREEMAN

Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman. Ruth Bordin. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1993. 314 pp. $49.50.

Reviewed by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1333–34.

"Alice Freeman Palmer was an exemplary woman of the late nineteenth century. A creative and resourceful college president, she relinquished her position at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wellesley College upon marriage at age thirty-two to the Harvard College philosopher George Herbert Palmer. . . . The subtitle of the book provides its major theme and its greatest weakness. The term 'New Woman' seems out of keeping with the life portrayed. . . . At Wellesley and Chicago, she unquestionably helped usher in the 'New Woman,' but this was without being one herself.

Despite this minor reservation, the book makes a solid contribution to biography and the history of higher education."

PERCY, WALKER

The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family. Bertram Wyatt-Brown. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 450 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Robert Wilson. *New York Times Book Review,* February 5, 1995, p. 20.

"We labor through Mr. Wyatt-Brown's many characters and many pages (his prose could have been much improved by a good pruning) in order to get to Walker Percy. (Jay Tolson got there first with his graceful and intelligent 1982 biography, 'Pilgrim in Ruins,' which Mr. Wyatt-Brown acknowledges.) He is the payoff, both for this book and for his family. For Walker Percy, the myths of aristocratic origins were a wry joke. It was in part out of this joke, and certainly with this wryness, that he made some of the best novels of the age."

PHILBY, H. ST. JOHN and KIM

The Philby Files: The Secret Life of Master Spy Kim Philby. Genrikh Borovik. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994. 382 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by James Bamford. *New York Times Book Review,* January 29, 1995, p. 19.

"A Russian writer and television personality, Mr. Borovik not only got access to Philby in the three years before his death at the age of 76 in 1988, but also persuaded the K.G.B. to unlock its files on the Cambridge ring for him. Thus, Mr. Borovik—with editing help from the British intelligence writer Phillip Knightly—expertly weaves commentary together with actual text from internal K.G.B. records on the ring, messages from Philby to Moscow, extensive interviews from 300 hours of tape-recorded sessions with Philby. Among the secrets held by the dusty documents was the fact that for many years the K.G.B. never trusted Philby, constantly suspecting him of being a triple agent and demanding over and over, that he write out long, detailed biographies of himself."

Treason in the Blood: H. St. John Philby, Kim Philby and the Spy Case of the Century. Anthony Cave Brown. Boston: A Marc Jaffe Book/Houghton Mifflin, 1994. 677 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Zara Steiner. *New York Times Book Review,* January 1, 1995, p. 9.

"In Mr. Cave Brown's sometimes gripping but frequently tedious pursuit of the intricacies of the legendary spy hunt, the central threads are easily lost. The unmasking of Kim Philby will have to continue."

POST, MARJORIE MERRIWEATHER

American Empress: The Life and Times of Marjorie Merriweather Post. Nancy Rubin. New York: Villard, 1995. 445 pp. $27.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Maureen Dowd. *New York Times Book Review,* February 12, 1995, p. 9.

This biography is characterized as filled with "spurts of soggy writing."

REICH, WILHELM

Beyond Psychology: Letters and Journals, 1934–1939. Edited by Mary Boyd Higgins. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994. 256 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Rosemary Dinnage. *New York Times Book Review,* January 29, 1995, p. 13.

"*Beyond Psychology: Letters and Journals, 1934–1939* is part of a standard edition of his [Reich's] works. The present volume starts with the year 1934, when Reich was 37 years old and was being edged out of the psychological community. (He chronicled his early years in *Passion of Youth: An Autobiography, 1897–1922,* and his journals from the years 1922–34 were lost during his bizarre persecution by the Food and Drug Administration, beginning in 1951 during the McCarthy years and ending with Reich's death in 1957.) This is not a book for the casual reader with no prior knowledge of Reich, and even for those with a special interest it may prove rather disappointing."

ROGERS, WILL

Will Rogers: A Biography. Ben Yadoda. New York: Knopf, 1993. 409 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Barbara Bair. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1357–58.

"This popular biography of Will Rogers makes good use of the great wealth of archival, oral history, and interview sources, newspaper clippings, reviews, and photographs at the main repository of Rogers papers, the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma, as well as primary materials from other specialized collections. Yadoda presents Rogers as a representative of his era, but Rogers's life, reconstructed, retains great contemporary relevance in an age of growing multicultural awareness and its backlashes."

SKINNER, B. F.

B. F. Skinner: A Life. Daniel W. Bjork. New York: Basic, 1993. 298 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Kerry W. Buckley. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1356.

"Bjork has indeed given us a 'life,' a well-researched though sometimes wooden narrative chronicling the events in Skinner's personal development and career, but only a superficial glimpse of the larger context—the intellectual and institutional setting in which his science developed and the historical milieu in which he lived and worked."

STEAD, CHRISTINA

Christina Stead: A Biography. Hazel Rowley. New York: Holt, 1994. 646 pp. $37.50.

Reviewed by Claudia Roth Pierpont. *New Yorker,* February 6, 1995, pp. 82–89.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

". . . we now have the second biography to appear in six years—Hazel Rowley's *Christina Stead,* weighing in at six hundred and forty-six pages. The essential outline of Stead's life, remains just as [Randall Jarrell, Stead's first biographer] had sketched it."

STEIN, GERTRUDE

Gertrude Stein. In Words and Pictures. A Photobiography. Edited by Renate Stendhal. Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1994. 286 pp. $19.95.

Gertrude Stein Remembered. Edited by Linda Simon. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1995. 195 pp. $20.00.

Reviewed by Miranda Seymour. *New York Times Book Review,* January 29, 1995, p. 9.

"There are many . . . intimate glimpses of Stein and her companion [Alice Toklas] in these two highly enjoyable new collections. *Gertrude Stein: In Words and Pictures,* assembled by the German writer and translator Renate Stendahl, sets 360 period photographs against selections from Stein's work and the writings of those who knew her. *Gertrude Stein Remembered,* edited by Linda Simon, an American biographer of Alice B. Toklas, presents recollections of Stein, some previously unpublished, from 20 people who crossed paths with her from her student days in America to her final years in Paris. Both Ms. Stendahl and Ms. Simon are shameless enthusiasts. Those in search of a pin to stick in Stein's robust frame—Picasso was observed embracing her like a 'beloved bolster'—should smoother their hopes; the Stein shown in these books is flawless in all her arrogance. Ms. Simon lets in a few refreshing cold blasts about Toklas (notably a wonderfully sulky contribution from Picasso's young mistress Françoise Gilot), but Stein emerges not just as an innovator and perhaps a genius, but a brave, funny and hugely likable woman."

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS

Robert Louis Stevenson: A Biography. Frank McLynn. New York: Random House, 1994. 567 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Norman Sherry. *New York Times Book Review,* December 25, 1994, pp. 1 & 16.

"Though a little plodding, Mr. McLynn's biography of Stevenson, which appeared first in Britain in 1993, is worthy of considerable praise: it is thoroughly detailed and takes into account the latest scholarship. I only wish the author wrote as well as Jenni Calder, whose lines in *Robert Louis Stevenson: A Life Study* (1980) bring Stevenson to life."

The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, Volume 1, 1854–April 1874; Volume 2, April 1874–July 1879. Edited by Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew. New Haven: Yale UP, 1994. 525 pp., 352 pp. $45.00 per volume.

Reviewed by Brian Moore. *New York Times Book Review,* December 25, 1994, pp. 1 & 17.

"Now, a hundred years after his death, we may read *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson,* a magisterial total of 2800 letters assembled in eight volumes (the first four are now available, with the remaining volumes to follow next year). They

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

give the full texts of previously expurgated correspondence and include many letters never before published. The project, begun in the 1950's by Bradford A. Booth of the University of California, Los Angeles, has been carried on since his death in 1968 by Ernest Mehew, an authority on Stevenson's life and work. The volumes include succinct biographical commentary on Stevenson and the lives of his correspondents as well as thorough, often fascinating annotations on the contents of the letters."

STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER

Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life. Joan D. Hedrick. New York: Oxford UP, 1994. 507 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Louise L. Stevenson. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1267-68.

"The last full-scale biography of Stowe was Forrest Wilson's entertaining *Crusader in Crinoline* (1941). Joan D. Herrick's masterly *Harriet Beecher Stowe* once again brings the best-selling author to the attention of a large public while addressing at least three subjects of current scholarly interest: women's culture and its relationship to literary life, the power of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and the rise of high literature.

Historians, literary scholars, and general readers will be well rewarded by this biography. Its engaging prose and thorough research tell a rich story. As Stowe did so well, Hedrick reaches out to multiple audiences. Stowe told wonderful tales for her century; this biography tells many tales for our times."

WALCOTT, DEREK

Derek Walcott. Robert D. Hamner. Rev. Ed. New York: Twayne, 1993. 199 pp. $22.95.

Reviewed by Bruce King. *Research in African Literatures* 25.3 (Fall 1994): 183–84.

"Hamner's 1981 *Derek Walcott* is still the only book written by an individual that surveys Walcott's life and work. Limited by the length and guidelines of Twayne's World Authors Series, Hamner packed too much into a small space and had to summarize plots for students, but most serious scholarship and criticism of Walcott remain indebted to him for establishing the foundations upon which others could build. . . . The new updated edition is basically the same book with a chapter added to cover Walcott's poetry and drama since 1980 and some new material inserted to update the life and prose writings. The bibliography has also been revised."

WHEELER, GEORGE MONTAGUE

George Montague Wheeler: The Man and the Myth. Doris Ostrander Dawdy. Athens: Ohio UP, 1993. 122 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Mary Lee Spence. *Journal of American History* 81.3 (December 1994): 1330–31.

"In this slim volume on Lt. George Montague Wheeler (1842–1905) of the United States Army Corps of Engineers—one can hardly call it a biography—Doris Ostrander Dawdy cannot be accused of being unusually laudatory and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

defensive of her subject. . . . The volume lacks a sharp focus; subjects are not fully developed, perhaps because of the paucity of information; and the writing is sometimes disjointed."

WILSON, BRIAN

The Nearest Faraway Place: Brian Wilson, the Beach Boys, and the Southern California Experience. Timothy White. New York: Holt, 1994. 416 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Donna Rifkind. *New York Times Book Review,* February 5, 1995, p. 11.

"Timothy White, the editor in chief of Billboard magazine and the author of *Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley,* justifies the publication of his chronicle, *The Nearest Faraway Place,* by expanding his subject into a social history of contemporary Los Angeles, using a group portrait of the band as a kind of prism through which to see the city at large.

While one wants to applaud Mr. White's ambition, the result of his efforts is a documentary that is thoroughly out of focus, in its close-ups as well as its long views."

WRIGHT, RICHARD

Exiled in Paris: Richard Wright, James Baldwin, Samuel Beckett, and Others on the Left Bank. James Campbell. New York: Scribner's, 1994. 271 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Deirdre Bair. *New York Times Book Review,* February 19, 1995, p. 24.

"'Exiled in Paris' is . . . of little use to scholars, even though it is a pleasure to read. Mr. Campbell is a good storyteller who knows exactly what to select from previous histories and biographies to make his points. It is good to meet all these diverse personalities again, and to have their stories collected within the covers of a single book."

ZOLA, EMILE

Les Apprentissages de Zola: Du Poète romantique au romancier naturaliste (1840-1867). Colette Becker. (Ecrivains) Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1993. 414 pp.

Reviewed by Joy Newton. *French Studies* 48.3 (July 1994): 345.

"In this subtle and persuasive work, Colette Becker offers us not only a careful and painstaking reconstruction of Zola's early years, but also a sensitive and imaginative analysis of the successes and setbacks of this stage in his life and career which brought about the metamorphosis from the would-be romantic poet to the confident young Naturalist novelist of *Thérèse Raquin.*"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Books Received January to March 1995

Ashley, Kathleen, Leigh Gilmore, and Gerald Peters, ed. *Autobiography and Postmodernism.* U of Massachusetts P, 1994. 326 pp. $16.95.

Barnstone, Willis. *Sunday Morning in Fascist Spain: A European Memoir, 1948–1953.* Southern Illinois UP, 1995. 286 pp. $19.95 paper.

Calvet, Louis-Jean. *Roland Barthes: A Biography.* Indiana UP, 1995. 305 pp. $35.00.

Casey, P. J. *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers.* Yale UP, 1995. 213 pp. $27.50.

Cotkin, George. *William James: Public Philosopher.* U of Illinois P, 1995. 218 pp. $17.95 (paper).

Curtis, Jared, ed. *The Fenwick Notes of William Wordsworth.* Bristol Classical Press, 1993. xxvi + 229. £25.

Dauben, Joseph Warren. *Abraham Robinson: The Creation of Nonstandard Analysis, A Personal and Mathematical Odyssey.* Princeton UP, 1995. 559 pp. $49.50.

Ellis, David, ed. *Imitating Art: Essays in Biography.* Westview, 1994. 230 pp. $70.00.

Flournoy, Theodore. *From India to the Planet Mars: A Case of Multiple Personality with Imaginary Languages.* Princeton UP, 1995. 386 pp. $16.95.

Foundation, Gary and Peter Brazeau. *Remembering Elizabeth Bishop: An Oral Biography.* U of Massachusetts P, 1994. 428 pp. $35.00.

Franklin, V. P. *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African-American Intellectual Tradition.* Scribner's, 1995. 464 pp. $30.00.

Goss, Glenda Dawn. *Jean Sibelius and Olin Downes: Music, Friendship, Criticism.* Northeastern UP, 1994. 274 pp. $35.00.

Grimes, Ronald L. *Marrying and Burying: Rites of Passage in a Man's Life.* Westview, 1995. 263 pp. $59.50 hardcover, $18.95 paper.

Hayman, Ronald. *Thomas Mann: A Biography.* Scribner's, 1995. 672 pp. $35.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Karl, Frederick R., ed. *Biography and Source Studies.* Vol. 1. AMS, 1994. 208 pp. $49.50.

Keppel, Ben. *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race.* Harvard UP, 1995. 314 pp. $35.00.

Machann, Clinton. *The Genre of Autobiography in Victorian Literature.* U of Michigan P, 1995. 191 pp. $37.50.

Mehta, Ved. *Rajiv Gandhi and Rama's Kingdom.* Yale UP, 1994. 206 pp. $20.00.

Mosley, Nicholas. *Efforts At Truth: An Autobiography.* Dalkey Archive, 1995. 345 pp. $22.95.

Murphy, William M. *Family Secrets: William Butler Yeats and His Relatives.* Syracuse UP, 1995. 564 pp. $39.95.

Neihardt, Hilda. *Black Elk & Flaming Rainbow: Personal Memories of the Lakota Holy Man and John Neihardt.* U of Nebraska P, 1995. 149 pp. $22.00.

Pullen, Robert and Stephen Taylor. *Montserrat Caballe Casta Diva.* Northeastern UP, 1995. 464 pp. $29.95.

Rotem, Simha (Kazik). *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter: The Past Within Me.* Translated from the Hebrew and edited by Barbara Harshav. Yale UP, 1995. 180 pp. $18.50.

Rousseau, Philip. *Basil of Ceasarea.* U of California P, 1995. 431 pp. $55.00.

Service, Robert. *Lenin: A Political Life.* Vol. 3. *The Iron Ring.* Indiana UP, 1995. 352 pp. $29.95.

Vitoux, Frederic. *Celine: A Biography.* Marlowe, 1995. 611 pp. $15.00.

Williams, Stephen and Gerard Friell. *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay.* Yale UP, 1995. 238 pp. $28.50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Notes on Contributors

Pierre H. Dubé ("Chateaubriand and Gérard") is the author of *Chateaubriand: Past and Present* (Peter Lang, 1989), as well as the *Bibliographie de la critique sur François-René de Chateaubriand* (G. G. Nizet, 1988). He is also coauthor, with Ann Dubé and Paul Socken, of *Patrimoines: La Francophonie en Amérique du nord* (HBJ-Holt, 1992), and coeditor of concordances of Pascal's *Pensées* and *Lettres provinciales* (with H. M. Davidson) and of the published works of Gustave Flaubert (with Charles Carlut and J. R. Dugan). He is Associate Professor of French at the University of Waterloo.

William H. Epstein ("Embodied Knowing"), Professor of English at the University of Arizona, is the author and editor of a number of works on biography and biographical theory, including *Recognizing Biography* (U of Pennsylvania P, 1987) and *Contesting the Subject: Essays in the Postmodern Theory and Practice of Biography and Biographical Criticism* (Purdue UP, 1991)

David Felix ("Marx and Keynes: The Primacy of Politics"), Professor of History Emeritus at the City University of New York, is the author of *Marx as Politician* (Southern Illinois UP, 1983) and *Biography of an Idea: John Maynard Keynes and The General Theory* (Transaction Press, 1994).

Richard A. Hutch ("A Response") is Reader in the History and Psychology of Religions at the University of Queensland. His

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

works include *Emerson's Optics: Biographical Process and the Dawn of Religious Leadership* (University Press of America, 1983) and *Religious Leadership: Personality, History, Sacred Authority* (Peter Lang, 1991).

Amia Lieblich (review of Elms, *Uncovering Lives*) is Artery Professor of Personality Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Susan Pavloska (review of Nalbantian, *Aesthetic Autobiography*) is Assistant Professor of English, Osaka Women's University.

Marvin Rintala ("Weber's Wilson: Living Off Political Science") is Professor of Political Science, Boston College. His most recent *Biography* article (16.2, Spring 1993) is "Taking the Pledge: H. H. Asquith and Drink." His most recent book is *Lloyd George and Churchill: How Friendship Changed Politics* (Madison Books, 1995).

J. P. Roos (review of Eakin, *Touching the World* and Stanley, *The auto/biographical I*) is Professor of Sociology, Department of Social Policy, University of Helsinki.

Malcolm Saunders ("An Australian Pacifist: The Reverend Dr. Charles Strong, 1844–1942") teaches European, American, and Australian history at the newly created University of Central Queensland, Rockhampton, Australia. He has published widely in the area of the Australian peace movement.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FRANK SHUFFELTON

Being Definitive: Jefferson Biography Under The Shadow of Dumas Malone

Dumas Malone's justly praised six-volume biography, *Jefferson and His Time,* is frequently referred to in contemporary scholarship as the definitive biography of our third president. The label "definitive" might seem to be worth little more than any other loosely given, laudatory term on a dustjacket, but its repeated use by reviewers and critics invests it with contradictory values of respect and anxiety for subsequent readers and would-be biographers. Malone's multivolumed life of Jefferson has impressed many readers as providing a sort of benchmark study against which all others must measure themselves, but at the same time, if it is truly definitive, it would seem to make further biographies unnecessary. Referring to a work as definitive in effect ascribes to it an ageless value, suggesting that it defines its subject once and for all and that it rests upon some authority not readily available to later writers. Above all, a genuinely definitive work ought to discourage later writers from taking up the same task again, or at least it should cast a shadow that overtakes their own narratives.

Boswell did not end Johnson biography, however, and "definitiveness" can be a challenge as well as a bar to later biographers. In the years since Malone began his biography other life writers have risked working in the shadow of his narrative and have even challenged its status as our authoritative life of Jefferson. Yet whether they respect or challenge Malone's biography, all later writers have had to envision their understandings of Jefferson's life with Malone's narrative as a part of their horizon. Thinking about how Malone's *Jefferson* achieved its status and looking at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the work of subsequent biographers can clarify for us what the commonly used but unexamined term definitive might mean in practice. Malone's example can illuminate the ways in which earlier biographies mediate and evoke their successors, and it can suggest some of the unconsciously held criteria that lead reviewers and critics to call a biography definitive.

If *we* remember Jefferson as our third president—and Malone entitles two of his volumes *Jefferson the President: First Term* and *Jefferson the President: Second Term*—Jefferson did not choose to define his own memory that way, asking that his tombstone describe him only as "Author of the Declaration of American Independance of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom & Father of the University of Virginia." In the century between Jefferson's death and Malone's first writing about him there were two other biographies with pretensions to definitiveness: George Tucker's 1837 *Life* and, especially, Henry S. Randall's 1858 similarly titled three-volume work. Just as Randall's work displaced Tucker's, so Malone's has superseded Randall's as the biographical reference of choice for subsequent scholars, but this process of mastery and displacement also indicates that definitive is a suspiciously subjective and temporary term. The shadow cast by a so-called definitive work does not necessarily inhibit future growth. Although it might require the century and a quarter it took for Malone's work to displace Randall's, the day will come when there will be a new definitive work to overcome Malone's, and in the decade since Malone completed his narrative, biographical writing about Jefferson has certainly not diminished. If anything, biographical studies—which Malone's much-heralded study would supposedly have made unnecessary—have flourished. We might therefore ask ourselves what constitutes definitiveness and how it encourages or inhibits further biographical writing that emerges within its period of influence, its shadow so to speak.

When we compare Tucker's, Randall's, and Malone's works, we can gain a clearer notion of how a biography comes to be called definitive. First, none of these works appeared in a discursive void: even Tucker's early biography was preceded by brief lives by B. L. Rayner and William Linn as well as by a number of highly critical attacks on Jefferson's life and character made during his lifetime. When Tucker came to write his *Life of Jefferson*, therefore, his subject's life had already been introduced into the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

public consciousness as a problematized narrative. Unlike Parson Weems's presentations of the almost universally admired Washington or the relatively unknown Francis Marion, the life of Jefferson could not easily be reduced to the level of merely didactic fable by Tucker or his successors. Because each of them wrote in the context of competing, often contentious narratives, each may have felt required to tell a longer and fuller story than those before. (How many volumes will the definitive biography of the twenty-first century require?) A biography can only be called definitive in the face of other narratives that it must expose as merely partial by offering a version that is more nuanced or more complexly significant than theirs.

Second, each of these writers presented his biography with a peculiar legitimating authority. Beneath Tucker's name on the title page appears his title of Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, a position to which Jefferson himself had appointed him, and in the preface Tucker noted that after a twenty-seven year acquaintanceship, he came to enjoy an "intercourse . . . frequent and familiar" with Jefferson during the last fifteen months of his life. He also thanked "Mr. Jefferson's friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Madison," to whom Tucker dedicated the volume, for major assistance and information.

Although Henry S. Randall in his turn had been active in Democratic party politics, he legitimates his narrative by referring to the active cooperation of the Jefferson descendants, particularly Jefferson's grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, to provide a more significant legitimation of his narrative. In addition to making his work a sort of authorized biography, this family support gave Randall access to previously unexamined private papers and memorandum books. More important in the long run, perhaps, he gathered reminiscences from some of the last surviving people who had known Jefferson in any detail. Some of this information Randall actually inserted into the biographical narrative in the form of letters from the grandchildren and others addressed to himself, in effect making himself a participant in his own text.

Malone's credentials were more scholarly than those of his predecessors, an important point since he could not rely on the legitimation of Jefferson's immediate family and friends. Additionally, in the century after Randall, biographical definitiveness was increasingly seen in a positivist light as the result of psychological or historical science. Unlike Malone, neither Tucker nor Randall

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

used the word "research" in their prefaces; they noted the "assistance" of informants and suppliers of primary documents. As the editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* Malone brought to his subject a perceived mastery of biographical method and of the historical context in which Jefferson lived. Given this background, it is not surprising that Malone took as his subject *Jefferson and His Time,* a more ambitious reach than Tucker's and Randall's *Lives.*

Third, each life of Jefferson appeared in the context of a major publication of Jefferson's papers. Tucker began his work shortly after Thomas Jefferson Randolph collected the material in the initial four-volume edition of Jefferson's writings, published in 1829. Four years before Randall's biography, Henry A. Washington published his much fuller nine-volume edition of writings, and Julian Boyd's ambitious Princeton edition of the *Jefferson Papers* emerged contemporaneously with Malone's biography. None of these biographers, however, was satisfied to work merely from the printed collections, and Randall's long primacy was largely a consequence of his use of Jefferson papers that for one reason or another were beyond the reach of many scholars for years to come. Between Randall and Malone appeared the important editions of Paul Leicester Ford and of Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert Ellery Bergh at the turn of the century. One might speculate that these two major editions of Jefferson material, appearing between 1892 and 1904, did not more immediately provoke a supersession of Randall because he had already incorporated so much important manuscript material into his narrative. The point to be taken, however, is that the access to archival materials is not necessarily the cause of a new biographical project, but the sign of its felt need. In the thirty-three years that it took Malone to complete his work, the Princeton editors were only able to publish Jefferson's writing through March 1791, obviously of limited use to Malone. *Jefferson and His Time* and the Princeton *Papers* are parallel signs—one narrative the other archaeological—of a desire to comprehend Jefferson's life and work in new ways.

Finally, each of these supposedly definitive biographies reflects a central cultural understanding of its time, and as that understanding changes, the need for a new biography arises. We might conceive of this cultural understanding as something like Foucault's epistemes formed and transformed in the continuing process of discourse. New Jefferson biographies pick up the themes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and language of their predecessors, but words as specific as party and leadership, to say nothing of more global terms like individual and nation, take on new associations or lose the energy of older usages. We might also think of this understanding in terms of Kuhn's discussion of paradigm shifts in scientific understanding. Kuhn's theory, that scientific revolutions happen when competing truth claims destabilize an older conceptual model, is of limited use for other historians because social and political revolutions seem driven less by unchallengeable facts than by powerful rhetoric and crises of changed material circumstances. Both Foucault's epistemic and Kuhn's paradigmatic models of cultural understanding are useful for my discussion, however, since definitive biographies lose their privileged position both because of changes in the ways in which we talk about the world and ourselves and because of new evidence that changes our understanding of historical truth. It is time for a new biography when neither the discourse nor the truthful picture of its subject seem familiar. We also ought to recognize that this national cultural understanding has to do with the power of dominant interests to enforce a hegemonic version of truth—with ideology, in other words. A definitive biography thus never succeeds in defining its subject for every possible reader, because it always tries to define what it takes to be its actual readers.

Tucker began with the observation that Jefferson was "at once more loved and praised by his friends, and more hated and reviled by his adversaries, than any of his compatriots" (I: xi). His decision to write the *Life* as an explanation of "the characters of the two great parties, which had divided this country for the first thirty years after the present constitution was adopted," framed his narrative in the context of the party and sectional conflicts that in the 1830s seemed to define the American condition (I: xii). Because he at once tried to position Jefferson as a sort of representative man for a divided nation, and also to see him as "the acknowledged head of the republican party, [presenting] a fit occasion for vindicating that party, in the purity of their motives, the justness of their views, and the wisdom of their policy, from some of the criminations to which they have been subjected" (I: xii), neither Tucker's narrative nor the national understanding it reflected was able to stand long on its own contradictions.

Randall was equally determined to write an epic of party, as Merrill Peterson has pointed out, but in painting Jefferson as representative American he was more successful than Tucker in con-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

necting the demands of sectional and national understanding. Having transferred his own party loyalties from the radical, Barnburner faction of the New York Democratic party to its conservative, pro-Southern element, Randall constructed a narrative that the *Richmond Enquirer* praised as "a Southern book" and the *New York Times* hailed as showing that Jefferson was "the political father of his country" (Peterson, *The Jefferson Image* 151, 160).[1] Randall presented a Jefferson whose "ringing phrases" about freedom were the conversational coin of most intelligent Americans. "There was a sympathy between his heart and the great popular heart, which nothing ever did, ever can, shake," said Randall, "His mission was leadership" (I: vi). In the decade before the Civil War, "ringing phrases" about freedom were equally welcome in North and South, even if understood differently, and amidst the miasma of the Buchanan administration, Randall's example of national leadership touched American concerns.

Randall's biography maintained its position in the decades after the war not only because of its positive portrayal of Jefferson, but also because it evaded difficult issues. When Tucker discussed Jefferson's work as one of the revisers of the Virginia statutes, for example, he noted Jefferson's opposition to slavery and his unsuccessful efforts to end it, but then entangled himself in a lengthy and digressive consideration of the legality and economics of emancipation and colonization (I: 111–21). Randall, however, after praising "Mr. Jefferson's educational bills," presented without further comment Jefferson's description of "The course pursued by the Revisers in regard to the laws on slavery" (I: 225, 227). During Reconstruction and the subsequent years of Jim Crow law, Randall's portrayal of a liberal antagonist of "nurselings of luxury" and "monomaniacs on the subject of family importance" (I: 201) satisfied a smug national self-understanding of America as egalitarian and reformist. Randall's Jefferson was a democratic revolutionary who respected middle-class property and was not eager to question the color line that W. E. B. DuBois called "The problem of the twentieth century" (372).

By 1943, when Malone began writing his biography of Jefferson, the old cultural understanding had been variously shattered by a resurgent prizing of Southern culture, and by the Depression, the New Deal, and World War II. Randall's and Tucker's portrayals of an essentially political Jefferson were modified by growing appreciation of his cultural significance as architect, edu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cator, and scientist, but the understanding of Jefferson's politics had shifted as well. The irony of the New Deal's practice of Hamiltonian economics while espousing Jeffersonian social and political values was apparent to many, including Malone as early as 1933. In the decade centering on the publication of Malone's first volume, Marie Kimball, Saul K. Padover, and Nathan Schachner all attempted to respond to the implicit demand for a new Jefferson biography; Padover and Schachner chose to focus their relatively brief narratives on Jefferson the democratic hero, while Kimball was unable to finish her more ambitious project. Malone's biographical project undertook to bring together Jefferson's political and cultural meanings by reinserting him in his time and circumstances more fully than earlier biographies had. An awareness of Jefferson as "one of the most notable champions of freedom and enlightenment in recorded history" (*Sage of Monticello* 499) did not prevent Malone from seeing Jefferson's life as constantly interacting with the lives of other men and women, each with concerns and values that could sometimes be preferable to his. The greater length of Malone's biography results in part from his presentation of a more richly possible life, and in part from his more subtly shadowed and tactful assessment of the subject.

If the American cultural understanding changed significantly between the publication of Randall's biography and the beginning of Malone's, there are reasons to argue that this understanding began to change once again, but surprisingly rapidly, during the nearly four decades separating Malone's first writing from the publication of his last pages. The consequences of the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, the end of the cold war, and a revolution in processing information are perhaps only beginning to be felt, but they are indicative of changes in a national self-understanding that could possibly abbreviate Malone's reign as definitive biography. When he began, an extensive biography of a rational, freedom-loving founding father who wrote some of the great documents in our country's history seemed to be an unexceptionable project. By the time the last volume appeared in 1981, Jefferson was, according to some, a racist, logocentric representative of a discredited patriarchy that exploited women, workers, and people of color.

The time Malone took to complete his biography, however, gave him the opportunity to respond to emerging concerns about

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

how Americans saw themselves without his having to surrender his initial portrait of an enlightened liberal whose main concern was "the freedom of the spirit and the mind" (*Jefferson the Virginian* xiv–xv). Tucker and Randall countered the Callender scandals by impugning the source and never mentioning Sally Hemings by name, to say nothing of recognizing any of the other Hemings family members. Malone used the same strategy toward Callender and countered the charges of a sexual liaison with Sally Hemings by appeals to Jefferson's "character." Although those appeals might not be so convincing to all of his readers as they were to Malone, he also tried to give sympathetic and continuing attention to the descendants of Betty Hemings as individuals. Betty Hemings, Sally's mother, was supposedly the mistress of John Wayles, Jefferson's father-in-law, and thus several of her children were probably half-brothers and half-sisters to Jefferson's wife. Even if Malone's own judgment is clear in this case, he thus recognized the problematic nature of the issues here. Similarly, though he never surrendered his guiding image of Jefferson as a champion of freedom, by entitling his third volume *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty,* Malone calls attention to uncertain debate rather than whiggish triumph.

By showing a Jefferson under stress, involved in situations with no easy clarifications, Malone's biography strengthens its claim to lasting definitiveness. But this hardly means that the project of Jefferson biography is completed, for as we have seen, one definitive biography eventually supersedes another. Some recent biographers and readers have already expressed their dissatisfaction with Malone's consensus history and with his treatment of race and gender. A new world order, whatever that is, will demand a new Jefferson, which may very well be evolving before our eyes at this minute in ways that we cannot recognize. Questions remain, then, about how biographers who must work under the shadow of Malone's defining narrative are proceeding. How do they avoid being silenced by his achievement? How do they clear the ground for a new Jefferson? Three strategies seem to have gained their adherents. First, some biographers generally accept the authority of Malone's narrative, but also consider the demands of the reading public for a more sharply focused, much shorter life of Jefferson. (Also, when we note that the Book of the Month Club tries to entice membership by offering Malone's *Jefferson* as an alternative to Will and Ariel Durant's history of philosophy or the compact edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, we realize that for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

some people there may be only a small difference between "definitive" and "unread classic.") Two scholars have chosen with some success to offer one-volume biographies. Merrill D. Peterson published his *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation* in 1970, and Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., presented *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson* in 1987, almost a Jeffersonian generation later. Each brought to his work impressive credentials as a Jefferson scholar, each had mastered the archival materials, and each began by admitting the authority of Malone's "definitive," "monumental" work, even though in Peterson's case Malone had only published the first three volumes. Each also chose to emphasize Jefferson's public life, and in so doing perhaps opted to write a Jefferson for his generation rather than Malone's more ambitiously conceived Jefferson for the ages.

Peterson writes as a member of the generation that came of age during the Second World War and then witnessed "a shattering global upheaval for a quarter-century" afterward. Living in one age of revolution, he is interested in the nation's beginnings in an earlier such age. Even more specifically, he is interested in Jefferson's development of "a revolutionary creed of liberty, equality, and popular government" (*Thomas Jefferson* ix). The resulting biography follows the model of Malone's liberal democratic hero of freedom and enlightenment, but Peterson's attempt to wrap Jefferson in revolutionary language suggests a desire to present him as an exemplary figure for a generation disrupted by the responses to the Vietnam War.

Cunningham brought to his biographical project important scholarship on the Jeffersonian Republicans' formation of party organization and on the process of government under Jefferson. Writing for a post-Watergate, post-Iranian crisis generation, Cunningham chose to emphasize Jefferson's attempt to apply reason to nature, society, and public affairs, speaking perhaps to the Reagan generation of would-be rationalizers of government and the market. While Peterson ended his biography with a discussion of the persistence of democratic ideals in a changing and troubled historical world, Cunningham ends instead by quoting Jefferson's inscription for his tombstone, which emphasizes his founding of institutions that embodied ideals rather than emphasizing the ideals themselves.

A second group of biographers confront Malone directly and assert that his portrayal of his subject is fundamentally incomplete. Fawn Brodie, most notoriously and most successfully took

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Kanchipuram

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this approach in her 1974 *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, which credited Malone and Peterson for illuminating "Jefferson's political genius" (17) but claimed to offer a new portrait based on a reading of his inner life. Though she had credentials as a biographer, having written well-regarded lives of Sir Richard Burton, Thaddeus Stevens, and Joseph Smith, Brodie had not established an authoritative presence as a Jefferson scholar. Furthermore, her two previously published articles on Jefferson signalled that she was going to argue for an historical truth behind what previous biographers had dismissed as the Callender scandals. When her biography appeared with its assertion of a long-term liaison between Jefferson and Sally Hemings, the forewarned scholarly establishment severely criticized Brodie's assumptions, method, and analysis of evidence. The non-scholarly public, however, made the biography a bestseller. A sexy founding father appealed to an audience that saw itself as living in the midst of a sexual revolution—a very different upheaval than the one imagined by Peterson—and in the first exuberant years of a revivified and aggressive feminist movement, a founding father who was at heart one more patriarchal exploiter confirmed many suspicions. Similarly, in the years after the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, many black readers welcomed a seemingly authoritative account of what they also had suspected all along, as Barbara Chase-Riboud's prize-winning novel of 1979, *Sally Hemings*, only underscores.

Because Brodie's most important facts were silences, lacunae, and denials which require interpretation to support her biographical narrative, the scholars, though sometimes weak and even a bit hysterical, seemed to have the best of it regarding the truth claims of *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*. Despite her inability to shake the definitiveness of Malone's biography, however, Brodie's recognition, and even privileging, of silences and evasions in the paper trail Jefferson scattered around himself suggests an almost post-modernist approach to biography, although I am sure Brodie would have been among the last to call herself a post-modernist. Later biographers of Jefferson will not defer to Brodie in the way they will to Malone, but her work's revisionary spirit might point to some new understanding of a narrated life that finds its deepest truth in the spaces between the facts, in its mystery for us rather than in its example. Though one may not agree with her version of it, Brodie has identified the last frontier of Jefferson biography, his inner life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Alf J. Mapp, Jr.'s 1987 *Thomas Jefferson: A Strange Case of Mistaken Identity,* and its 1992 continuation, *Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim* prove, however, that claims of revisionism are not in themselves enough. If Brodie is a contender, this project is a pretender, offering nothing new in the way of fundamental vision. The subtitle of the first volume seems to be mostly assertion, since no new identity of Jefferson emerges. Judging by the footnotes, there is also not much evidence of familiarity with recent scholarship, and the narrative is marred by outbursts of local chauvinism and irrelevant comparisons—Jefferson and Alfred the Great is a favorite. The author answers standard criticisms of Jefferson's character and actions raised by nineteenth-century writers from Henry Lee to Henry Adams, but since Malone's narrative raised the level of biographical understanding above the terms of nineteenth-century discourse once and for all, Mapp never escapes from Malone's authoritative and explanatory shadow. Thus, while Malone's narrative pushed Brodie to attempt a new understanding of Jefferson, however mixed the results, it also made a biography like Mapp's unnecessary. In contrast, Elizabeth Langhorne's much less self-congratulatory *Monticello: A Family Story,* which appeared in the same year as Mapp's first volume, offers some genuine insight into Jefferson's life at home, including an informed and intelligent discussion of the role of the Hemings family at Monticello. By treating people intimately associated with Jefferson, including the Hemings family, as men and women with lives of their own, with their own anxieties and desires, Langhorne generates a greater sense of Jefferson's private life as contingent rather than as massively central. Ironically, Langhorne may be more successful in stepping out from Malone's shadow because unlike him, and unlike Mapp, she is not a professional historian. She seems to feel more comfortable in presenting a somewhat more fragmented account of Jefferson's life—and thus a more unintentionally post-modern one—than writers like Malone and Mapp who struggle with a master narrative.

A third, and perhaps most promising, biographical strategy has led other writers to construct lives of Jefferson around one or more of his many cultural interests. Just as focused scholarship by Gilbert Chinard and Fiske and Marie Kimball was instrumental in challenging the authority of Randall, similar work by recent scholars may chip away at the definitiveness of Malone. Two notable examples of this approach have appeared recently: Jack McLaughlin's *Jefferson and Monticello* in 1988, and two years

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

later, Silvio A. Bedini's *Thomas Jefferson: Statesman of Science.* These specialized biographies give us fresh perspectives on Jefferson by virtue of their reorganization of materials into what is in effect a new story. Malone's definitive narrative performs an intricate juggling act, keeping all of Jefferson's concerns in the air together; this strategy gives readers a sense of Jefferson's personal complexity as well as of the richness of his milieu, but foreshortens the imaginative and emotional depth of any given topic. Malone informs us about Jefferson's scientific interests at appropriate places in his six volumes, but Bedini, organizing his narrative around this particular interest, gives us some sense of why the imaginative and theoretical prospects of late Enlightenment science could exert so much power over Jefferson's mind.

Similarly, McLaughlin's narrative, subtitled "The Biography of a Builder," relates more or less familiar information about Jefferson's changing plans for Monticello, but by telling us in detail how bricks were made in the eighteenth century or how Monticello looked at a specific moment (usually surprisingly shabby or incomplete), he adds new dimensions to Jefferson's imagination and a new sense of the social and economic networks in which he lived. By revealing "building" as a significant Jeffersonian trope that begins to suggest some of the ways in which he thought, McLaughlin goes beyond merely telling us what he thought about. Bedini's and McLaughlin's specialized biographies above all give us a glimpse of Jefferson's intimate self by focusing on the development and play of some of his most persistent, even obsessive, concerns. By demonstrating the symbolic value of architecture and science for Jefferson, these intentionally partial biographies reveal some limits to Malone's basically factual treatment of Jefferson's interests, but do not explicitly threaten Malone's definitiveness.

What will the next definitive biography of Thomas Jefferson look like? One recent biographical project offers some interesting suggestions, especially in the context of the successes of Bedini and McLaughlin. In 1986 Merrill Peterson edited *Thomas Jefferson: A Reference Biography,* a collection of essays by twenty-five writers each expert on some aspect of Jeffersonian scholarship. Although each essay addresses a specific Jeffersonian concern—sometimes cutting across a large extent of his life, sometimes focusing on a brief period—the essays taken in order imply a narrative understanding of Jefferson's whole life. The essays are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

informative and substantial, but they still fall far short of doing full justice to their topics; most of the authors have written important full-length studies of the subjects they take up more briefly here. The definitive biography of the future may therefore have to contain twenty-five volumes or more, written by as many authors, but I suspect few of us would want to have it on our bookshelves. When it arrives, however, it may well be in our computers as something like a hypertext or a video disc for a cd rom drive (Landow). Malone's definitive biography, as well as other similar projects, may have hit the limits of book technology. Advanced technology already allows us to have an enormous amount of material at our fingertips: the best books by each of Peterson's staff of corporate authors; a supporting array of visual material, such as what Monticello or Paris or Washington, D.C. looked like when Jefferson was there; and primary documents—Malone and Boyd together at last!

Before the excitement gets out of hand, however, we should remember that someone has to pay for this, and more important, someone with vision and comprehension has to organize it. Many of us could compile enormous heaps of potentially useful material, but Malone wrote the biography of Jefferson that we now call definitive because he had imagination, judgment, a sympathy with the best features of his subject along with an ability to criticize his failings, and a sense of what a biography should be as a civic act. The technology is at hand for a new definitive biography, but the biographer able to escape the shadow of Malone's accomplishment may not be.

NOTES

1. Peterson's study is essential for a detailed understanding of how biographical apprehension of Jefferson evolved under the pressure of successive historical and social demands.

WORKS CITED

Bedini, Silvio A. *Thomas Jefferson: Statesman of Science.* New York: Macmillan, 1990.

Brodie, Fawn M. *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History.* New York: Norton, 1974.

Chase-Riboud, Barbara. *Sally Hemings: A Novel.* New York: Viking, 1979.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1987.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DuBois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk.* In *W. E. B. DuBois: Writings.* Ed. Nathan Huggins. New York: Library of America, 1986.

Kimball, Marie. *Jefferson: The Road to Glory, 1743 to 1776.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1943.

———. *Jefferson: War and Peace, 1776 to 1784.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1947.

———. *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe, 1784 to 1789.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1950.

Landow, George P. *Hypertext.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992.

Langhorne, Elizabeth. *Monticello: A Family Story.* Chapel Hill: Algonquin, 1987.

Malone, Dumas. *Jefferson and His Time.* 6 vols. Boston: Little Brown, 1948–81. Individual titles and dates are *Jefferson the Virginian* (1948); *Jefferson and the Rights of Man* (1951); *Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty* (1962); *Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801–1805* (1970); *Jefferson the President: Second Term, 1805–1809* (1974); and *The Sage of Monticello* (1981).

Mapp, Alf J., Jr. *Thomas Jefferson: A Strange Case of Mistaken Identity.* New York: Madison, 1987.

———. *Thomas Jefferson: Passionate Pilgrim.* New York: Madison, 1992.

McLaughlin, Jack. *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder.* New York: Holt, 1988.

Padover, Saul K. *Jefferson.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1942.

Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind.* New York: Oxford UP, 1960.

———. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation, A Profile.* New York: Oxford UP, 1970.

Peterson, Merrill D., ed. *Thomas Jefferson: A Reference Biography.* New York: Scribners, 1986.

Randall, Henry S. *The Life of Thomas Jefferson.* 3 vols. New York: Derby and Jackson, 1858.

Schachner, Nathan. *Thomas Jefferson.* 2 vols. New York: Appleton-Century, 1951.

Tucker, George. *The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: Carey, Lean, and Blanchard, 1837.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CAROLE J. LAMBERT

Postmodern Biography: Lively Hypotheses and *Dead Certainties*

Postmodern theory and culture can provide biographers with the possibility of breaking out of the traditional, totalizing mode of inscribing a life and into new techniques of life-narration. Postmodernism emphasizes "the need for an escape from the restrictions of the unitary self" (Taylor 463); portraying a "unitary self" seems to be old-fashioned when the postmodern self is now thought to be "decentered" (Nuyen 66). The postmodern "decentered" self has been shaped ideologically by its relationships to important others, beginning with the family, and by external forces such as the political upheavals and economic depressions surrounding it. The self has become a nexus of floating discourses which enter it from without, yet it is not controlled by any one paradigmatic discourse. Indeed, Jean-François Lyotard defines *postmodern* as "incredulity toward metanarratives" (xxiv).

A biographical metanarrative would be the quasi-omniscient voice of the biographer relating the story of another's life through the use of a narrative style similar to that of the realistic novel—a coherent, unified voice claiming to present the truth about a life. Omniscient narration, repeating themes and symbols, a linear chronological presentation of events, and other fictional devices provide readers with the illusion of totality and closure. As Sharon O'Brien characterizes well, postmodernism questions the assumptions that:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> language is a transparent medium capable of representing the world; character and self are knowable; the cause-and-effect linearity implied by the chronological plot is a reliable way of ordering reality; and the author is a trustworthy narrator who understands the relationship between the private self and the public world. (125)

If these assumptions are no longer valid, then how does one write about another's life? Are there ways of doing biography without encompassing the biographical facts in an illusionary metanarrative? The purpose of this essay is to introduce French theoretician Francis Vanoye's observations about postmodern biography, to analyze Simon Schama's *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* as an example of this genre, and to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of this innovative approach.

After surveying several nontraditional recent French biographies, Francis Vanoye, in "La biographie, quand même" [Biography nevertheless], lists many qualities they exhibit:

> *—l'émiettement des événements, des actes, des affects, . . . pour le biographé;*
> *—les contradictions d'une vie, entre actes, entre pensées et actions, etc.*
> *—les béances événementielles, temporelles, logiques. . . .* (199)
> [the crumbling of events, of acts, of affects, . . . for the subject;
> the contradictions of a life, between acts, between thoughts and actions, etc.
> the circumstantial, temporal, logical gaps. . . .]

These qualities are revealed through the utilization of the following stylistic devices:

> *—fragmentation . . . ou construction par grands blocs avec ellipses temporelles importantes et récurrences thématiques . . .*
> *—entremêlement du biographique et de l'autobiographique, avec effets de résonances ou d'échos, . . . du biographique et de l'autobiographique fictif . . . de l'événement et du commentaire. . . ;*
> *—variations des perspectives narratives et des points de vue . . . ;*
> *—parodies et pastiches. . . .* (199)
>
> [fragmentation . . . or construction by big blocks with important temporal ellipses and thematic recurrences . . . ;
> intermixing of the biographical and the autobiographical, with effects of resonances or echoes of biography and of fictional autobiography . . . of the event and of the commentary . . . ;
> variations of narrative perspectives and of points of view . . . ;
> parodies and pastiches. . . .]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Both the content and the style avoid providing a sense of completion or wholeness. The biographer and the subject interact, but gaps remain. The mystery of one's own and another's life is paradoxically the central truth of texts manifesting multiple points of view, parodies, and pastiches. A postmodern, fragmented view of culture is reflected in splintered biographies.

Although not claiming to be a postmodern biographer, Simon Schama uses the techniques of fragmentation, echoes, variations of narrative perspectives, parodies, and pastiches in his *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)*. As Schama himself explains, what led him to relate two loosely connected stories about the lives and particularly the deaths of General James Wolfe and George Parkman, uncle of the historian Francis Parkman, was precisely

> the teasing gap separating a lived event and its subsequent narration. . . . Both [stories] dissolve the certainties of events into the multiple possibilities of alternative narrations. Thus, General Wolfe dies many deaths, and though a verdict is rendered and a confession delivered in the case of John Webster, the ultimate truth about how George Parkman met his end remains obscure. (320)

A tightly organized structure unobtrusively holds these "alternative narrations" together. Schama breaks not only with the usual biographical convention of treating only one life, but also the conventions of group biography, since his two subjects neither knew each other nor even lived in the same era. The link between Wolfe and Parkman is the latter's nephew, Francis, who wrote a history featuring Generals Montcalm and Wolfe. A haphazard research discovery led Schama to link Wolfe and Uncle Parkman: "Both stories are, of course, Parkman stories, and although I arrived with happy inadvertence at the George Parkman calamity by pondering the career of his more famous nephew, there seem, in retrospect, to be compulsions and obsessions that run through the entire tragic dynasty" (323). These fierce "compulsions and obsessions" are not elaborated upon in his text, which is divided into two unequal parts: "The Many Deaths of General Wolfe" (1–70) and "Death of a Harvard Man" (71–318). That the Parkman section is over three times the length of the Wolfe does not seem to disturb Schama, who offers no explanation for this imbalance.

A close analysis of "The Many Deaths of General Wolfe" reveals four parts complemented by reproductions of paintings portraying James Wolfe. Thus, along with words, Schama uses art

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to provide important perspectives on a life. Part 1, "At the Face of the Cliff" (3–20) is bracketed by two pictures: George Townshend's *Portrait of James Wolfe* (1759) (2) and Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) (19). The narrative voice that first speaks in "At the Face of the Cliff" is that of a common soldier: "The General put some heart in us, coming to our lines to talk of duty and the King and what our country expected of us and all of Canada at our mercy if we but prevailed this once. After he died they made him look like a Roman, even on the penny prints I had seen, but he lookd no Roman to us" (7). Because of the archaic tone and spelling, the reader assumes that this is an authentic narration by an eyewitness to the famous Battle of Quebec. In his "Note on Sources," however, Schama explains that this is "purely imagined fiction," for "the narrative has been constructed from a number of contemporary documents" (327). Schama's comment here is paradoxical because the many documents that are the source for his fiction give it a ring of truth that contrasts with the patriotic iconography which he will soon show actually did grow up around Wolfe as he became consecrated in history books.

One source that Schama may have used when creating his composite soldier is Francis Parkman's recording of the words of Sergeant John Johnson, of Wolfe's Fifty-Eighth Regiment: "Nay, how could it be otherwise, being at the heels of gentlemen whose whole thirst, equal with their general, was for glory? We had seen them tried, and always found them sterling. We knew that they would stand by us to the last extremity" (*Montcalm and Wolfe* 536). Johnson's simple trust in his leaders echoes Schama's fictional soldier's "The General put some heart in us."

If sources like Sergeant Johnson would have portrayed the scene just as accurately, if not as artistically, why then does Schama construct here a "purely imagined fiction" from several sources? Schama's method is, in fact, an example of pastiche, a composition made up of selections from different sources, and a stylistic device which Vanoye identifies as typical of postmodern biography. Furthermore, the folksy tone and eighteenth century misspelling of "lookd" create a humorous or satirical imitation that borders on postmodern parody. Schama's parodistic pastiche is convincing enough to persuade the reader who neglects "A Note on Sources" that it is real. Yet Schama is still enough of a professional historian to distinguish in his "Note" between truth and falsehood:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> This book is a work of the imagination that chronicles historical events. In both parts, the narratives are based on primary sources. In many cases, including some of the most unlikely episodes—George Parkman's epiphany with the human dermis for example—I have faithfully followed accounts given in letters and journals. Testimony and arguments presented at the trial of John Webster are quoted verbatim from the record.
>
> Two kinds of passages are purely imagined fiction. In the first kind (as in the soldier's witness of the Battle of Quebec) the narrative has been constructed from a number of contemporary documents. The more purely fictitious dialogues (such as Marshal Tukey's conversation with Ephraim Littlefield) are worked up from my own understanding of the sources as to how such a scene might have taken place. (327)

Schama does not footnote his sources in the text, but in this "Note on Sources" indicates where they can be located. By thus not only identifying his sources, but also explaining how he uses them, Schama reveals how biography and history are written. He elucidates his creative process—what has been reproduced almost verbatim from records and what has been imagined.

Clarifying how he uses the sources, however, still does not explain why he chose to construct "imagined fictions." Perhaps at these moments he simply wanted to be an artist. Although bound to the facts of a life, most biographers do view themselves as creative artists, even though few acknowledge when they are writing most imaginatively. Like the painted pipes on the external facade of a postmodern building, Schama's revelation lays bare the inner structuring of biography, thus breaking the illusion of a holistic, truthful narrative. If Schama did not tell his readers that the soldier's narrative was a composite fiction, they would trust that this infantryman literally existed. One wonders how often such imaginative constructs in other biographies, presented without comment, seduce the reader into believing that the character is "real" when really he is more like a personage in a novel.

After five pages of this fictitious soldier's tale, an omniscient narrator begins "The Life of General Wolfe," which lasts for twelve pages. Schama skillfully uses novelistic techniques such as indirect discourse, particularly characterized by multiple rhetorical questions which decrease the aesthetic distance between the reader and the biographical subject and heighten the communi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cation of the subject's emotions. This effect, however, is tempered by Schama's ironic, almost mocking, tone:

> Wolfe was agonized by the possibility of returning to England not in a chorus of Handelian Hosannas, but in a cloud of ignominy. How would he dare face Amherst, the commander of the expedition, or Pitt, who had been so criticized for putting his faith in a stripling major-general still in his thirties? He dreaded the jeering of the merciless coffee-house press; the caricaturists for whom his peculiar physiognomy must have seemed heaven-sent; the howling catcalls of the theater as some half-drunk actor bawled a profane air at his expense. How could he greet his betrothed, who overlooked his curious phiz and figure and his graceless manner as the eccentricities of one born for a heroic fate? How could he look his father, the General, in the eye, and worst of all what would he say to his exacting, adamant mother? (10)

Wolfe's personal insecurities can be summarized briefly: he fears being publicly called a coward and a failure in England; he worries that both his defeat and his appearance will merit rejection from his fiancée; and he can't bear the thought of facing his disappointed, demanding parents. Rather than baldly stating these facts, Schama imaginatively weaves vivid scenes around them. One hears the hoped-for chorus of "Handelian Hosannas," usually reserved for the Messiah, not a victorious general, silenced and replaced by the dark "cloud of ignominy." To the visual image of his cartooned figure is added the aural image of "howling catcalls" and a bawling actor. Finally, the vision of his repudiating fiancée and parents almost paralyzes Wolfe, who "increasingly kept his own counsel and brooded sourly on the disappointment of his hopes" (11).

Although the tone of the fictitious soldier's tale and the omniscient narrator's description of Wolfe differ, both are fictional constructs using artistic techniques beyond the basic facts that Wolfe was in military trouble. Schama here does what many biographers using omniscient narration do—he moves into the subject's mind, empathically recreates the emotions he feels Wolfe must have experienced, and then communicates these via aural and visual imagery spiced with some humorous exaggeration. An omniscient narrator can use irony because he knows both what literally is being communicated and how to undermine, often humorously, that communication. The mocking tone Schama employs represents a parody of the more reverential style of a tra-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ditional biographer writing about a great war hero. For example, Beckles Willson, one of Schama's acknowledged sources, describes this moment preceding the important battle from a different point of view. He offers no recreation of Wolfe's affective state but rather a narration of historical facts, particularly casting blame on those who disappointed the hero:

> At the very moment when the dispatch to Holderness was penned, Wolfe's brain harboured, unknown to a living soul, the one scheme which was to lead him to victory and to an eternal niche in the fane [sic] of British heroes.
>
> He had given up hoping for help from Amherst, whose conduct, by the bye, in not coming to Wolfe's succour at this juncture, when he could easily have done it, is inexplicable. (475)

His imaginative venture into Wolfe's thoughts and his parodistic tone mark Schama as a postmodern, fictionalizing biographer who can capture well his subject's sensitivity to others' opinions of him, his cultivation of a heroic reputation, and his discomfort with his body. Many biographers would maintain this focus on Wolfe for an entire volume, but Schama quickly shifts his spotlight to an omniscient discourse on the legends that grew up around Wolfe's life.

Part 2, "In Command" (21–39) focuses on the artist Benjamin West's iconography of General Wolfe. The omniscient narrator even comments biographically on West: "He was artful in constructing an image of himself as the unspoiled colonial—intuitive, doggedly empirical, an innocent abroad—since so much of polite London found the image beguiling" (28). This section contrasts Edward Penny's more realistic painting of Wolfe's death (29) to West's "grandiloquent lie" (30), which even includes "The Indian, posed in the Antique form of poetic contemplation, precisely the quality commonly denied to the 'Savages,' as they were invariably called by the British of Wolfe's generation" (30). Schama concludes this section by affirming how the success of West's painting strongly influenced generations of British children: "Art had entirely blotted out mere recall, let alone evidence. . . . After West, nothing could dispel the odour of sanctity that lay over Wolfe's memory" (37).

It is interesting to note that Schama's second major source for *Dead Certainties*, A. Doughty's *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*, also discusses the legends that grew up

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

around Wolfe's death, and, in particular, West's painting, but Doughty's tone is less playful and more factual:

> West's picture is, however, absolutely valueless as a historic representation. It is a well-known fact that most of those represented in it were not with Wolfe at his death, some of them not having been at Quebec at all on the day of the battle, while the Indian figure standing by, with ornaments of feathers in his hair, is certainly a piece of pure imagination on the part of the artist. (221–222)

Doughty is more concerned with focusing on the truth about the moment of Wolfe's death, while Schama highlights the falsity of the patriotic and sanctifying legend embodied in West's painting.

If Schama had ended his fragmented biography of Wolfe here, he would have succeeded in showing the disparity between a brutal battle and its glorified artistic representation, and between a common soldier's view of a general and that general's own heroic self-image. Thus the reader is surprised by the contents of Part 3, "Deep in the Forest" (40–65). General Wolfe and West fade, as the narrator presents Francis Parkman in the 1880s, more than a century after West's famous painting. One soon discovers that the connection between Parkman and Wolfe is the former's history about the latter. Schama cleverly highlights Parkman's projection of himself into the character of Wolfe: "'His martial instincts were balanced by strong domestic inclinations,' Parkman would write of Wolfe, and, as usual, these terms applied equally to himself" (58–59). The "as usual" exposes the dilemma experienced by many biographers. One is drawn to a subject for personal reasons, yet these very reasons can shape one's interpretation of the subject's character and life, as in Schama's portrayal of Parkman in the following passage:

> Past and present dissolved at this moment. He became Wolfe and Wolfe lived again through him; the man's perseverance and fortitude; the punishments of his body; the irritability of his mind; the crazy agitated propulsion of his energies all flowed between subject and historian; overtook and consumed him, robbed him of sleep and colonized his days so that the writing of it all, the remembering, the recitation drove him on, relentlessly, became akin to and part of the hard, forced climb upwards to the heights; the drum-measured advance across the field, unstoppable till the very finish. (64–65)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In this imaginary ecstatic moment, Parkman becomes Wolfe, climbing biographical mountains with the same will and energy with which Wolfe fought battles. So astute is Schama's understanding of the biographical fallacy, the danger of a biographer becoming overly involved with his subject, that he can make this fallacy a subject for humor. Though probably exaggerated, the Dionysian transport of Parkman, which "overtook and consumed him, robbed him of sleep and colonized his days," is certainly vivid. Again, Schama's impassioned, overly emphatic prose borders on humor: ". . . the hard, forced climb upwards to the heights; the drum-measured advance across the field, unstoppable till the very finish." His prose echoes the drum beats' staccato: "the man's perseverance and fortitude; the punishments of his body; the irritability of his mind"; each semicolon represents a break between beats.

Schama's exaggerated portrait of Parkman's moment when writing about Wolfe stands out even more when this passage is compared to a calmer narration of how Parkman composed—from another of Schama's acknowledged sources, Mason Wade's *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian:*

> [Parkman's] tendency to think of history in terms of eras dominated by one individual was one great literary asset; another asset was his physical handicap. Debarred from making much use of his eyes, he had to digest his materials thoroughly and arrange them in his mind before beginning to write. Without a preconceived outline, the tortoise-like method of composition forced upon him would soon have involved him in hopeless confusion. But driven as he was by a passion for his subject which ruled out almost all other considerations, and possessed of great mental energy, he used his enforced solitude and sleepless nights for mental composition, so that when he began to dictate a book, he was able to do so without halts for reference and in such finished forms that few corrections were required. (450)

Like Schama, Wade acknowledges that Parkman was driven "by a passion for his subject," but here this passion is disciplined by the historian; Wade offers no suggestion of the "biographical fallacy" which Schama chose to emphasize.

Chronologically, at least, Schama's presentation of Wolfe's life should conclude here with Parkman's treatment of it. But the final section, Part 4 "On the Heights of Abraham" (66–69), suddenly swerves back to 1759 and the voice of a fictitious soldier

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

commenting on Wolfe's gruesome death: "his face had gone stiff and greenish and his red hair glistened with sun and sweat. Blood had matted his belly where another ball had struck him and now more was oozing through his shirt and coat . . ." (69). Here Schama may be emphasizing the problem of biographical truth. Isn't West's iconography more beautiful and satisfying than the soldier's more realistic narration? When must raw truth replace beautified ideology? But the emphasis shifts once more, as "The Many Deaths of General Wolfe" ends with an authentic, poignant letter from Katherine Lowther, Wolfe's fiancée, to his mother: "On this morning ye tidings of ye Dreadful calamity reached me & I yield to the first impulse to mingle my grief with that of the Hero's Mother at the loss of One who whatever his Worth to his country was to us both double precious . . ." (70).

Schama is a virtuoso of biographical technique. Because he knows the conventions of biography so well, he can exaggerate moments such as Parkman's passionate writing as well as reveal the fictional inner workings of the biographical process. His approach to the genre is ironic because, knowing the forms and conventions of traditional biography, he pushes them to an extreme, thus disappointing his readers' expectations for a holistic, novelistic text. In addition, he acknowledges his sources, but negates their seriousness. He recognizes a military hero, but deflates the glorified images surrounding him. He emphasizes that presentations of historical truths are always perspectival by accenting unusual aspects of these truths, such as the similarities in personality between Wolfe and Parkman. As soon as the reader becomes aesthetically involved in Schama's narration, he shifts gears and highlights a new aspect of his biographical subject: from the man he moves to the legends built around him, including his later biographer's account of his life.

And yet, while Schama's stylistic maneuvers are all typical of Vanoye's description of postmodern biography, they conceal one further aspect that sets Schama outside this innovative genre: a silent but controlling "metanarrator," who uses fragments of commentaries, omniscient narration, pastiches, and parodies to direct and unbalance the readers. This technique is perhaps even more manipulative than the traditional, omniscient narration used in most biographies, because the reader does not expect this constant change in style and hence remains subservient to the author's next move. Thus Schama uses postmodern stylistic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

devices to maintain covert but absolute control over his material and, to some extent, his readers.

Schama's unusual biography of Wolfe fits many of the qualities Vanoye noted in recent French biographies: "contradictions of a life" (the soldiers' view and West's view); logical gaps (the Indian as contemplative and as Savage, the return to the heights of Abraham after the comparison of Parkman to Wolfe); fragmentation (narratives broken off before a unified interpretation is reached); and parodies and pastiches (in a sense Schama's ironic tone makes his entire work a pastiche and parody of traditional biography).

The overall effect is impressive: the reader learns much about both Wolfe's life and how artists, biographers, and historians interpret a life. The tight structure, the clarity of each narrative episode, and the excellence of Schama's prose leave the reader amazed and aware of how difficult telling the truth (or some truths) about a life can be. And yet, while careful study of Schama's treatment of Wolfe shows both a brilliant stylistic performance and a knowledgeable conductor orchestrating from behind the scenes all of the seemingly discordant parts, ultimately much about Wolfe's life is left to the reader to discern. The text's fragmentary nature leaves the reader the space to formulate his or her own imaginative judgments or critical questions about both Wolfe's life and Schama's treatment of it.

Part Two of *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations)* consists of eight chapters and, in contrast to Wolfe's heroic death, relates the brutal murder of George Parkman, a Harvard College graduate, member of a prestigious family, and prosperous property owner. Throughout this section Schama adopts not only the voice of an omniscient narrator but also the suspense-building style of a writer of mystery novels. The intrigue surrounding Parkman's death is intensified because the events are true—Mason Wade calls the crime "New England's most lurid scandal of the period" (341)—and the circumstances remain ambiguous. Even now few are sure that Professor John Webster killed George Parkman.

Chapter 1, "Honest Sweat: The Blacksmith's Son," focuses on Governor George Briggs's frustration with multiple letters begging for Webster's pardon, directed to the governor because "Even at this last stage, a commutation was possible—by his hand alone" (80). The omniscient narrator uses indirect dis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

course to reveal Briggs's thoughts: "For the pride of money George Parkman had turned wrathful, and for want of it John Webster had turned homicidal" (87). This novelistic device introduces possible motivations for the crime without the omniscient narrator stating overtly who committed the act. Putting these ideas into the head of Briggs is a clever, creative act, because Schama's primary sources make little mention of Briggs, nor do they include the photograph of Briggs which Schama reproduces at the opening of this chapter (72). In fact, the Committee on Pardons of the Massachusetts Executive Council held hearings to determine if it should recommend to Governor Briggs a reduction in the sentence of death by hanging, which Webster received on April 1, 1850 (Sullivan 177). The sources suggest that Briggs would have typically followed the recommendation of this Committee rather than have been profoundly troubled by his own power to pardon.

Chapter 2, "Income: The Pedestrian, Friday, November 23, 1849," flashes back to George Parkman's last day alive. It is illustrated by a cartoon figure of Parkman distributed shortly after his absence was discovered: "Dr. George Parkman as he last appeared walking the streets of Boston" (90). Schama also includes two billboards asking for information about Parkman (109) and offering a $3,000 reward for knowledge leading to his person, dead or alive (113), and a map showing Harvard Medical College near Massachusetts Hospital (92).

The serious tone of the narration of Parkman's earlier life, including his being highly influenced by Philippe Pinel, the French specialist in treating the insane, is abruptly broken by a playful, postmodern interjection:

> Pinel passed among the demented like an apostle armed with a holy power, freeing them from their shackles. Some of them hung on his coat and trousers like abject animals, crying with adoration and hatred.
>
> Was this not admirable, Michel Foucault? Parkman, at any rate, supposed so. That Pinel had since devoted his life to the principle of the curability of the insane, of their potential rehabilitation into useful society, seemed to him a noble use of days. (99)

Schama's audacious rhetorical question, "Was this not admirable, Michel Foucault?," jerks the reader back from the past to the present, to an encounter with Foucault's views on insanity from his *Madness and Civilization*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter 3, "Enterprise: The Janitor, Friday, November 30, 1849," portrays the amateur sleuthing attempts of Ephraim Littlefield, the live-in janitor of Harvard Medical College. Schama illustrates this chapter with a portrait of Littlefield (117), maps of the interior floors of the College (127, 134), and an external front view of "Mass Medical College" (128). These documents clarify Littlefield's hypothesis that Professor John Webster killed Dr. George Parkman after a heated dispute over Webster's failure to pay back loans from Parkman. Littlefield actually excavated under Webster's laboratory through his privy and found the sliced up remains of a body which he believed to be Parkman's. The chapter concludes with the police arresting Webster. Schama presents these facts in a novelistic, dialogical style which echoes Littlefield's lengthy—and at times amusing—testimony transcribed in official court documents.

Chapter 4, "Debt: Skyrocket Jack," highlights John Webster's love of sophisticated living and is illustrated by a picture of him from the cover of an 1850 publication, *Trial of Professor John W. Webster, for the Murder of Doctor George Parkman. Reported Exclusively for the N.Y. Daily Globe* (140). Corresponding to his treatment of Parkman's life in Chapter 2, Schama recounts Webster's past and his illustrious career at Harvard. Schama captures well Webster's love of prestigious tradition and his frustration with a small income:

> As George Parkman withdrew from science to business, John Webster went in the reverse direction. Harvard made him a lecturer in chemistry at the Medical College for eight hundred dollars a year, but what the position wanted in remuneration, Webster felt, it compensated for in distinction, or at least potential distinction. To be, one day, a Harvard Professor, to dwell amidst men of intellect, erudition and lightly worn religion; to be received, *ex officio* as a man of culture; this was surely worth the regrettably thin purse that went with all these blessings. But as time went on and he did indeed become one of the Elect, the Erving Professor of Chemistry, and the eight hundred swelled into all of twelve hundred, his discontents mounted along with his debts.
>
> How could they have been avoided? he asked himself. (147)

Pages and pages describe Webster's unsuccessful business ventures and reveal that his wife "had even been obliged to go so far as to enter into secret commercial practice, buying brilliantly coloured and woven fabrics from the looms of St. Michael and Fayal and reselling them to dressmakers in Boston. If reports of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

her little business should ever become public, how would she bear the mortification?" (154).

This account of financial difficulties leads up to a blank space in the text which represents the supposed moment of the murder. The blank space is preceded by mention of the fact that Parkman bought lettuce for his ailing daughter Harriet, supposedly one of the last times he was seen alive, and is followed by the announcement that Professor Webster left the College late that afternoon (155). This blank space parallels a gap of the same size in Chapter 2 following the declaration that "At about two o'clock in the afternoon of November 23, Dr. Parkman went into the Medical College for his appointment with Professor Webster" (108). Thus the omniscient narrator focuses the reader's attention on the murder by refraining from comment. Although the reader already knows what Ephraim Littlefield thinks happened between Parkman and Webster that afternoon, the blank space remains for the reader to fill in. Like Chapter 3, which gave Littlefield's version, Chapter 4 concludes with a detailed narration of Webster's arrest, including his attempt to poison himself. Schama thus layers perspectives on the crime, adding particulars to this second version.

Chapter 5, "Taking Stock: The Prisoner and the Public," emphasizes the public response of shock and horror to Webster's alleged crime. Just as he invoked Michel Foucault in Chapter 2, Schama here again juxtaposes contemporary knowledge to events of 1850:

> Professor William Douglas of Tufts University, who battered his greedy whore Robin Benedict to death in 1984, did so from desperation that he could no longer afford her. Charles Stuart, Newbury Street fur-salesman, may have killed his pregnant wife in 1989 so that he might build his palace-in-the-air, an up-market restaurant, on the insurance proceeds. In 1850, God's appointed fulminators up and down the Commonwealth saw in the act of a Professor who would fecklessly destroy his honour, his reputation, his family, his life, all for a paltry few hundred dollars, the unmistakable warning of God to idolatrous Babylon. (172)

Although this digression into scandals of the 1980s may seem unnecessary, Schama probably intends to reflect on the public's eternal appetite for scandal, and its eagerness to hear (even while claiming to be appalled by) a gripping "novelistic" story of this kind. Few traditional historians would interject such remarks.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Schama here defies conventions by focusing the reader's attention not on the events, but on the weak resonances between past and present public shock.

At eighty-two pages, Chapter 6, "Accounts Rendered: Lawyers, Doctors and Other Solid Citizens," is the lengthiest chapter of the eight, probably because it treats Webster's twelve-day trial, for which verbatim transcripts exist. From the transcripts, Schama reproduces drawings of Parkman's dismembered teeth and bones: "The Remains Found in the Medical College" (211, 217); and "Restoration of Dr. Parkman's Skeleton," a skeletal design showing where the remains would have fit (221).

Schama animates the dry legal documents by vividly describing the courtroom and the actors of this drama, noting their eccentricities, such as attorney George Bemis's tubercular cough (206), and by again exploring their thoughts through interior monologue. Schama thus dares to read the mind of Ephraim Littlefield, the janitor, who provides the case's most shocking testimony:

> It was him they had all been waiting for; he knew it. All those doctors and dentists and policemen. It was his story they would listen to now. Oh, there was some as hated him and looked down at him, he knew that; he was accusing a Professor wasn't he, one of the old sort too and one the world knew had called him a villain. He'd heard about it, the signs at Dr. Parkman's funeral calling him a liar and a rogue. Someone had even told him as how he's been written about in those New York papers as "low and contemptible" or some such. Well, they would have to listen to him now wouldn't they? (222)

Schama cleverly adopts Littlefield's tone, diction, and lack of punctuation: "there was some as hated him," thinks the custodian. "Well, they would have to listen to him now wouldn't they?" Yes, they did listen to him, and in John A. French's version of the trial's record, one of Schama's primary sources, Littlefield's lengthy narration is set off by this heading: "Littlefield's Testimony—Very Important—Startling Disclosures" (27).

Schama adds to the importance of Littlefield's testimony by moving into the mind of George Bemis, providing us with Bemis's imaginary judgment of his witness. It is important to remember that no record exists of Bemis's thoughts here; as in the case of Governor Briggs in Chapter 1, Schama here again uses a historical personage to voice his own hypothesis:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai And eGangotri

> [Littlefield] was, thought the attorney, a born storyteller. To be sure, he had practised this enough: to Marshal Tukey, Coroner Pratt, the Grand Jury and again to Clifford and himself. Still, Bemis sensed in the janitor a teller of tales; more in the way of an old sailor than a fairground yarn-spinner, but a man who had a way with an audience nonetheless; one who knew how to set a scene: four candles burning in Dr. Webster's back room, and he with his nose in a chemistry volume as the irate Parkman marched in. (223)

Although a glance at the original court documents verifies Littlefield's story-telling skills, Schama focuses the reader's attention on the power of storytelling by having Bemis imagine that only a *better* story narrated by the defense could cancel out Littlefield's effect on the jury: "Give them an *alternative* story they can superimpose over the histories of Ephraim Littlefield and Derastus Clapp and they perhaps may prefer it. But give them only uncertainty and they will squirm with unhappiness like children sent to bed without their story's end" (243).

The defense did not come up with a better storyteller than Littlefield, but it did introduce some evidence which Schama utilizes. In *The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman* (1971), one of Schama's acknowledged sources, legal historian Robert Sullivan isolates significant evidence from the Webster case: "Finally, and perhaps most importantly, seven witnesses, all of whom know Dr. Parkman to some degree, swore that they had seen him abroad on the streets of Boston long after the time it would be reasonable to assume that he had come to harm by Webster's hand" (129). Along with the anonymous author of *A Review of the Webster Case* (1850), Sullivan concludes that Littlefield himself may have been the murderer. In Chapter 2 Schama mentions that five people saw Parkman after his supposed murder (91–92), and in Chapter 6 the number of witnesses at first coincides with Sullivan's statement of seven (241), but then is reduced to six (252, 266). This scattered mention of witnesses and the confusion in number suggest that Schama may be so in awe of Littlefield's narrative powers that he fails to emphasize some important ambiguities in the trial's testimonies which would further his thesis of *Unwarranted Speculations.*

In Chapter 7, "Payment Pending: The Press, the Preachers and the Prisoner," Schama shows how the public, goaded by journalists, transforms John Webster into a victim and Ephraim Little-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

field into a villain (283). The chapter is illustrated by a popular reproduction, "View of the Interior of Professor Webster's Cell" (275). Schama also comments on Webster's supposed confession to the Unitarian minister George Putnam, brought to the Governor's Council on Pardons on July 2, 1850 (289). This lengthy written statement details the gruesome violence of the crime and provokes in Schama a historian's intuitive response to primary sources: "Yet even as related to Putnam, the statement has, in essence, the ring of truth" (290). Oddly missing from Schama's work, however, is any reference to Sullivan's very concrete reasons for questioning the validity of the confession, reasons which speak to the ambiguity of the case:

> A close examination of the "confessional statement" itself and the statements made on behalf of Professor Webster by the Reverend Putnam reveals that all of the *verbal* statements which the Reverend Putnam attributes to Professor Webster are definitely confessional in character. On the other hand, when the Reverend Putnam supports what he alleges to have been Webster's spoken confession with *handwritings* of Webster, it is clear that these addenda in no way allude to the professor's guilt and that they are clearly and completely exculpatory in substance. Furthermore, they seem to have been taken out of context. There is also a marked difference between the style of Webster's own writing and his expression of thoughts "quoted" by Dr. Putnam. (194)

Chapter 8, "Settlements: The Legatees," returns the reader to Governor Briggs's meditations in Chapter 1. He will not pardon Webster. A subsection entitled "August 29, 1850" explores Webster's thoughts and actions the day before his execution. "August 30, 1850" describes the secret burial of Webster's body at Copp's Hill in Boston. Then several letters from Amelia Hickling Nye to her sister May Anne Ivens portray the condition of the Webster family after the professor's hanging. Following these, Schama inserts a few pages of historical narration. Subsequently, using a new style, that of a Harvard alumni magazine, he lists "Class Notes:" summaries of the lives of leading actors in this tragedy, all Harvard men—BEMIS, George (A.B. '35), CLIFFORD, John H. (L.L.D. '53), MERRICK, Pliny (A.B. '14), SHAW, Lemuel (A.B. 1800), and SOHIER, Edward Dexter (A.B. '29). More historical omniscient narration follows, until the book concludes with two letters from Governor Briggs to his daughter. Thus in his final chapter Schama accelerates the fragmentation in style and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

frames his whole narrative of George Parkman's murder with the real and fictional thoughts of Briggs, a figure not at all emphasized in any previous analyses of this case. Perhaps this past lack of focus on Briggs allows Schama to create an imagined picture of him and even to speak through him.

Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations) exemplifies postmodern fragmentation. I find little rapport between the lives and deaths of heroic James Wolfe and miserly George Parkman. The relationship between the two sections is not through content but style: both sections show historical events from the multiple perspectives of many witnesses, and both present the content in a variety of modes—illustrations, letters, first-person narrations, omniscient narrations, and lists such as "Class Notes." In both sections Schama presents his historical research in a predominantly mocking, ironic tone, as if he were trying to disappoint or at least befuddle his readers' expectations by deconstructing traditional modes of narrating biographies.

The question then becomes, how valuable is this type of postmodern biography? What are its disadvantages and advantages? One disadvantage is the lack of footnotes and Schama's loose listing of sources. His primary and secondary sources are grouped together at the end of the book under the general headings of the central characters of his dramas: "The Many Deaths of General Wolfe," "Benjamin West," "Parkman," "Death of a Harvard Man," and "Secondary Sources." Schama nowhere indicates which sources provide information about specific passages of his text.

Furthermore, although on the next to the last page of his work he offers "Photographic Acknowledgements" for Parts 1 and 2 which show his indebtedness to the Massachusetts Historical Society for all of the illustrations of Part 2, he offers no exact listing of his illustrations for his text. By tracking down several sources where he probably found the photographs relevant to Parkman's murder, I gained some idea of Schama's primary and secondary sources. At least for his illustrations in Part 2, he relied on the John A. French edition of the *Trial of Professor John W. Webster,* the Stringer & Townsend edition of the *Trial of Professor John W. Webster,* George Bemis's *Report on the Case of John White Webster,* Robert Sullivan's *The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman,* and Helen Thomson's *Murder at Harvard,* or else on illustrations in an even prior form that might be found in the dossiers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It does not seem that a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

researcher should have to piece together what fragments of information are found in which sources, and most researchers would not have access to the many books about Webster's trial that I found in Harvard University's Pusey Library. Apparently, postmodern fragmentation includes not only fragmented textual content but also scattered sources that serious scholars must trace for themselves.

In his "Afterword," which precedes "A Note on Sources," Schama himself acknowledges

> . . . that even in the most austere scholarly report from the archives, the inventive faculty—selecting, pruning, editing, commenting, interpreting, delivering judgments—is in full play. This is not a naively relativist position that insists that the lived past is nothing more than an artificially designed text. . . . But it does accept the rather banal axiom that claims for historical knowledge must always be fatally circumscribed by the character and prejudices of its narrator. (322)

Schama's postmodern disjointed style accentuates the fragmentary nature of the pieces that offer themselves to a biographer, but this very fragmentation may conceal what he is here hoping to reveal—the subjectivity of the biographer's choices as he works with the archives.

And yet, as I explored the sources Schama used, I could spot his choices of illustrations—and also those he for some reason chose to omit, such as the "Vampire-like" sketch of Webster and the ugly portrait of Chief Justice Shaw found in Sullivan's study of the Webster case (44, 133). Perhaps Schama rejected the "Vampire-like" sketch that circulated after the murder because it was an untrue likeness of Webster, yet it would seem to complement the powerful narration of Ephraim Littlefield which Schama highlights. Similarly since Chief Justice Shaw looks much more like a criminal than does Webster, it is unclear why Schama, the master of irony, would not have used this illustration to support his overall tone for his text, especially since he does mention Shaw's "ghastly aspect" (195) and his "startlingly ill-favoured countenance" (198).

As noted above, there were important ambiguities in the witness's testimonies which Schama could have used but didn't, for whatever reasons, such as Sullivan's observation that seven witnesses claimed to have seen Parkman circulating in Boston after

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his appointment with Webster, as well as the stylistic discrepancies noted in the analysis of the Putnam/Webster confession. A reader who had not investigated Schama's sources, however, would not know the choices of materials he opted to use or omit. Hence the "selecting, pruning, editing, commenting, interpreting, delivering judgments" Schama desires to demonstrate are not evident from the text itself which he delivers to the reader.

Schama does succeed, however, in invoking the mystery of lives and deaths. How really heroic is the hero Wolfe? How guilty was Webster? Schama does not mention the possibility that Parkman, known at times to be mentally unbalanced, might have physically threatened Webster, and the resulting violence might then be interpreted differently. This possibility shows that I as a reader have done what Schama wants his audience to do—speculate about even more possibilities than he offers. The openness of his fragmented text makes this possible.

In his introduction to *Contesting the Subject. Essays in the Postmodern Theory and Practice of Biography and Biographical Criticism*, William H. Epstein describes postmodern biography, but without accepting the nihilistic understandings of it that some attribute to it. "And isn't postmodernism," he writes, "an antihumanist, neoformalist movement that, among other things, seeks to demystify if not displace subjectivity, authorship, intentionality, facthood, totality, coherence, and other conceptual practices crucial to the recognition of the biographical?" (1). Like Epstein, Schama's answer to this question is no. As I have shown, the truth about the interaction between biographers and subjects can be portrayed without detracting from historical narration; facthood and coherence can be presented through interruptions, stylistic innovations, and parodies yet without a totalizing narrative.

Epstein continues, "The biographical subject is persistently and perpetually (mis)recognized; seldom approached as an abducted alterity in the decentered discourse of collective cultural experience, it is habitually treated as the sovereign model of individual human existence in a sanitized system of cultural exchange" (226). This is a complicated way of saying that the unity traditional biography seems to give to the subject is artificial when the subject is shown to be an integral part of chaotic real life, and particularly of ideologically conditioned culture. Postmodern biography allows for this chaos and ideological shaping by showing the ambiguities the subject must have felt as well as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the uncertainties a biographer experiences when piecing together a life narrative. The "sovereign" self existing "in a sanitized system of cultural exchange" can be avoided, for example, by the use of Schama's ironic tone, which questions the glorified legends constructed around the frail, young General Wolfe and shows the power of Bostonian society to shame a Harvard professor to the point of murder.

The biographical subject can now also be relatively unimportant in the eyes of society. Schama without apologies or explanations has focused much more on two obscure Bostonians, George Parkman and John Webster, than on the military hero, James Wolfe, who is said to have changed the political map of the North American continent.

The postmodern stylistic devices outlined by Vanoye offer new and not yet fully explored possibilities for portraying lives. Simon Schama's *Dead Certainties* is a fascinating actualization of Vanoye's theories. It must never be forgotten, however, that both traditional and postmodern biographies will have a "metanarrator" controlling the materials—the omnipresent, omniscient voice of the traditional biographer or the hidden compiler of fragments in postmodern biographical texts. Either type of biography will ultimately come alive in the mind of the readers who must critically judge both subject and biographer. Both types of biographies will make different demands on the readers and will portray truths about lives in different ways. Traditional biography may provide more facts and a comforting illusion of unity in a life. Postmodern biography may supply fewer details but may reflect more of the reality of fragmentation that subjects, biographers, and readers experience in the postmodern era.

Innovative modes of inscribing lives will add to the repertoire of traditional methods, without ever fully replacing them. Postmodern biography, therefore, offers the possibility of highlighting the gaps in lives, of enacting a heteroglossia which parallels the floating discourses of real life, and of inviting the reader to speculate on several interpretations of a life. In short, postmodern biography provides what Roland Barthes calls a "writerly text," whose lacunae may be filled in by the reader's rational and imaginative processes, instead of a "readerly text," in which the biographer has already glossed over those discontinuities (4). By toning down or even eliminating the controlling narrative voice, the innovative biographer allows the reader to tell a life story in new

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ways, to discover the importance of the lives of others whom a traditional biographer might consider unimportant as subjects, and to wonder about silences or missing data that a traditional biographer might eliminate for the sake of creating a unified narrative. Readers who like the challenge of putting the pieces of the puzzle that is human life together themselves will enjoy innovative biography. Those, however, without the inclination, time, energy, or skills to do so will prefer to buy the traditional biography, where the puzzle is ready-made and framed.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I am grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities which made possible my participation in the 1993 Summer Seminar for College Teachers at Harvard University; I am equally grateful to Professor Leo Damrosch, Director of this Seminar, who encouraged and critiqued this essay.

WORKS CITED

Barthes, Roland. *S/Z.* Tr. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974.

Bemis, George. *Report on the Case of John White Webster Indicted for the Murder of George Parkman.* Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850.

Doughty, A. G. and G. W. Parmelee. *The Siege of Quebec.* Vol. III of VI. Quebec City: Dussault & Proulx, 1901.

Epstein, William. H., ed. *Contesting the Subject. Essays in the Postmodern Theory and Practice of Biography and Biographical Criticism.* West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1991.

Foucault, Michel. *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason.* Tr. Richard Howard. New York: Random House, 1965.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge.* Tr. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1985.

Nuyen, A. T. "Postmodern theology and postmodern philosophy." *Philosophy of Religion* 30 (1991): 65–76.

O'Brien, Sharon. "Feminist Theory and Literary Biography." Epstein 123–33.

Parkman, Francis. *Montcalm and Wolfe.* 1884. London: Collier Macmillan, 1969.

A Review of the Webster Case. New York: J. S. Redfield, 1850.

Schama, Simon. *Dead Certainties (Unwarranted Speculations).* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Sullivan, Robert. *The Disappearance of Dr. Parkman.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989.

Thomson, Helen. *Murder at Harvard.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Trial of Professor John W. Webster, for the Murder of Doctor George Parkman. Reported Exclusively for the N.Y. Daily Globe. New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1850.

Trial of Professor John W. Webster, for the Murder of Dr. George Parkman in the Medical College, November 23, 1849. Boston: John A. French, Boston Herald Steam Press, 1850.

Vanoye, Francis. "La biographie, quand même." *Le Désir biographique.* Ed. Philippe Lejeune. Cahiers de Sémiotique Textuelle 16. Paris: Université Paris X, 1989: 197–205.

Wade, Mason. *Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian.* New York: Viking, 1942.

Willson, Beckles. *The Life and Letters of James Wolfe.* London: Heinemann, 1909.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SCOTT PEEPLES

Life Writing/ Death Writing: Biographical Versions of Poe's Final Hours

On September 27, 1849, Edgar Allan Poe boarded a steamer in Richmond bound for Baltimore; on October 3 in Baltimore, Joseph Walker wrote to Joseph E. Snodgrass that Poe was at Ryan's 4th Ward polls and "in need of immediate assistance." Poe was taken to Washington College Hospital, where he was attended by Dr. John J. Moran and died on October 7.[1] Other than this information gleaned from the memoirs of Snodgrass, Moran, and Neilson Poe, almost nothing else is known about the last ten days of Poe's life, a circumstance that forces Poe's biographers either to leave a blank spot in their narratives or else to fill the gap with their own speculations, to create the "facts" and make them real for readers—in other words, to do what Poe did in a great portion of his work. In *Pym,* in *Eureka,* and in his hoaxes, Poe demonstrates that truth, particularly in the age of print, is a matter of textual representation; as Gary Lindberg points out, truth for Poe is not that which can be shown and verified but that which can be made compelling by a writer (61–63).[2] This insight is borne out by the fact that Poe's life has been written at least forty times, with all of his biographers insisting that in some way they are at least coming closer to telling the truth about Poe's life and character than their predecessors.[3] The fact that the final episode of Poe's life is essentially a blank text has thus led biographers to create competing truths concerning his death.

In some ways the problems involved in writing Poe's death are typical of the problems faced by all biographers. As theorists of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

life-writing have pointed out repeatedly, biography shares a great many devices and technical challenges with novel-writing, among them the problem of closure.[4] Traditionally the death of the book's subject, like that of a novel's protagonist, provides a conclusive scene, even if the description of the subject's death does not take place on the last page. Regardless of the circumstances surrounding the death, the writer is compelled to ascribe meaning to the death-event, emphasizing its appropriateness or its irony in relation to the life and personality of the central character. But Poe's death-scene is also crucial to any rendering of his life in ways peculiar to Poe. By the time Poe biographers reach this concluding (or nearly concluding) chapter, they have had to discuss a body of work in which "Death looks gigantically down": stories and poems concerned with mourning, premature burial, the physical and mental sensations of dying, and the possibility of consciousness or animation beyond death.[5] Poe responded through his poetry and fiction to the deaths of his mother, his stepmother, Helen Stanard, and his wife.[6] In the course of any biography, then, readers are understandably apt to wonder about Poe's own experience of dying, and how that last "episode" coincided with his literary projections of death.

Dr. John J. Moran, the physician who attended Poe at Washington College Hospital, has influenced every writer who has tried to answer these crucial questions. Moran's first description, in a letter to Maria Clemm a month after Poe's death, provides the "facts" for virtually every Poe biographer after Griswold. Moran's later writings, the most notable of which are a *New York Herald* article of 1875 and *A Defense of Edgar Allan Poe: Life, Character, and Dying Declarations* (1885), are rarely cited other than in footnotes. The piety and stilted speech Moran attributes to Poe in these later accounts betray them as pure whitewash, but the suspicion cast on them has had the effect of strengthening the authority of his 1849 letter to Mrs. Clemm (Bandy 26–36). Nearly every twentieth-century biographer of Poe's life has resorted to that letter (with or without attribution to Moran) for Poe's last utterances: his remark that "the best thing his best friend could do would be to blow out his brains with a pistol"; his repeated crying out for "Reynolds"; and his dying words, "Lord help my poor soul." Even in the most recent Poe biography, by Jeffrey Meyers (1992), most of Moran's statements are accepted uncritically (254).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The details provided by Moran have supported a variety of representations of Poe's death, which have in turn authorized diverse, even conflicting interpretations of his life and character. But at the same time, these "facts" have reinforced underlying themes common to most lives of Poe. One of the devices by which Poe biography comes to resemble fiction or drama is the invoking of fate, usually associated with some tragic flaw or heroic quality. William Gill in 1878 set the tone for future biographers: "From the moment of [Poe's] wife's death, he waged an unequal battle with a relentless fate," a fate that had set him apart from his contemporaries; "Poe may be regarded as a man who lived and died never entirely understood. . . . It was Poe's misfortune that his temperament was totally at variance with the spirit of the age in which he lived" (240–41). Susan Archer Weiss (1907) titles her chapter on Poe's death "The Mystery of Fate"; Arthur Hobson Quinn (1941) calls his post-mortem chapter "The Recoil of Fate." Noting that Poe's paranoid fears were fixed not on Baltimore but on Philadelphia, Frances Winwar (1959) remarks, "Fate, alas, has seldom been known to come where it leaves its most conspicuous calling card" (372). Joseph Wood Krutch (1926) and William Bittner (1962) emphasize the inevitability of Poe's pathetic death by beginning their biographies at his deathbed. Hervey Allen (1926) foreshadows Poe's "fate" throughout his biography, remarking that "all accidents with him were weirdly consistent," and like Gill, emphasizing Poe's spiritual isolation (667). Biographies that suggest Poe willed his own death also suggest that he was fated. Baudelaire (1856) asserted that Poe's death was "almost a suicide,—a suicide prepared for a long time" (101); similar theories can be found in Philip Lindsay's *The Haunted Man* (1953) and in Marie Bonaparte's psychobiography (1949), in which Poe's death is cast as his inevitable return to the mother (206).

As the passage from Gill suggests, Poe's fate is nearly always linked to the suggestion that he is a man out of time, at odds with his surroundings. Despite the stated aim of numerous biographers to reveal "the man behind the myth," this romanticized premise dominates Poe biography, regardless of whether the biographer portrays him as madman (Krutch, Lindsay) or angel (Gill, Allen, Mary N. Stanard, J. A. T. Lloyd), or avoids either extreme in attempting to be objective (George Woodberry, Quinn, Kenneth Silverman). For more daring writers such as Baudelaire and Bonaparte, Poe was a man who slept with the Devil or a necrophilist who sublimated his urges but longed for death (55;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

83, 103, 107, 185–86). For the more judicious Woodberry, Poe was a man "removed, through one and another influence, from normal humanity" (283). But in all cases some thesis concerning his exceptional character finds corroboration in the manner of his death.

Since Poe's biographers tend to extend their theories of Poe's fated character to account for his genius, the death scenes typically integrate references to his poetry or fiction. Most common are references to *Pym*'s final scene, suggested by Moran's description of Poe calling out the name "Reynolds." W. T. Bandy has argued reasonably that Moran simply got the name wrong (that if Poe called for anyone it was probably Henry Herring), but even if one accepts this element of Moran's account as literally true, Poe would not necessarily have been referring to the Antarctic explorer Jeremiah Reynolds.[7] The story has persisted because it provides an entrance to speculation on Poe's final thoughts in relation to his writing. Quinn, Bonaparte, Winwar, Edward Shanks (1937), David Sinclair (1977), Wolf Mankowitz (1978), and Meyers all refer to or quote *Pym* in describing Poe's possible last thoughts. "And when, on the last night of all, he so strangely called for Reynolds—as it seemed to those about him—was this not as dying men call on the mother," asks Bonaparte rhetorically, "For had not Reynolds, like Arthur Gordon Pym, striven to conquer the South Pole, that white symbol of the frozen-in-death mother?" Bonaparte then paraphrases a line from "For Annie," quoted nearly as often as *Pym* (and understandably so) in reference to Poe's death: "The 'danger,' the 'crisis,' were over at last, now that the 'fever called living' was past" (206). Arthur Hobson Quinn speculates that on the conscious level at least Poe's deathbed thoughts turned to stories in which sea exploration led to knowledge of a new dimension:

> Perhaps to his dim and tortured brain, he seemed to be on the brink of a great descending circle sweeping down like the phantom ship in the "Manuscript found in a Bottle" into "darkness and the distance." In that first published story, Poe had written, "It is evident that we are hurrying onward to some exciting knowledge—some never to be imparted secret, whose attainment is destruction." (640)

Quinn then shifts Poe's thoughts to *Pym* and through *Pym* to Jeremiah Reynolds. Similarly, Winwar imagines Poe's mind "wandering to the unknown seas which Reynolds had sailed, and from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them to the grandeur of his own vision of ultimate extinction, as the chasm threw itself open to receive him and there arose that 'shrouded human figure, very far larger . . . than any dweller among men. And the hue of the skin of the figure was of the perfect whiteness of snow'" (376). Edward Shanks invokes *Pym* without mentioning Reynolds and offers a slightly different interpretation: "His death-cries recalled the most agonising episode in *Arthur Gordon Pym*: it seemed to him that he was dying of thirst" (78).

About half of Poe's biographers have cited *Pym* in their depictions of his death, but nearly all find some emblematic reference to Poe's poetry or fiction that helps explain his mysterious death at an early age. For Baudelaire the "fateful words" can be found in "The Black Cat": "*What disease is like alcohol!*" (101). William Bittner describes Poe as being "irrevocably in the Maelström" as he calls out for Reynolds. Mary Newton Stanard (1925) quotes "To One in Paradise," "Bridal Ballad," "Annabel Lee," and "The Conqueror Worm" in her last four pages, in which the cause of Poe's death seems to be his "swallow[ing] the draught . . . that would free his spirit" (380). And Jeffrey Meyers, like Winwar, Sinclair, and Mankowitz, quotes the last lines of *Pym*, but also conjectures that the room in which Poe died "resembled the grim cells, chambers, vaults and tombs of his most lurid stories" (254).

This remark exemplifies the way Poe's writing and his biography interact. Biographers tend to read Poe's work into his life, to treat his writing as biographical evidence, and conversely, to interpret stories and poems as allegories of his life experience.[8] Readers of the biographies, and the larger audience that only hears about Poe's life secondhand (as most grade school and high school students do), remember that the author of "The Black Cat" and "The Tell-Tale Heart" was himself an alcoholic and perhaps a madman; his mysterious death, brought on presumably by an alcoholic binge (perhaps by kidnapping as well), solidifies the still persistent myth that closely identifies Poe with the fictional personas he created. This conflation of life and art has had a great influence on the Poe canon and reciprocally on his popular image. Most readers regard "The Black Cat" and "The Tell-Tale Heart" as typical Poe stories, while the stories that show Poe to be a writer fully engaged with the culture of antebellum America are rarely read or discussed except by Poe specialists.[9] Perhaps my earlier premise that depictions of Poe's death take on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

special significance because death was such an important theme for Poe is itself a product of this process. Recently other themes—commerce, confidence, technology, literary production, race, democracy—have been more seriously explored by critics, but whether stories like "The Business Man," "Diddling," "The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade," "How to Write a Blackwood Article," and "Mellonta Tauta" will find their way into American literature anthologies or syllabi remains to be seen.[10]

While the particular effects of Poe's life on the critical and popular reception of his writing are especially striking, the fact that the life and the writing interact, each influencing the way we read the other, would seem to be an unavoidable product of literary biography. But the question remains whether this interaction constitutes an intrusion of fiction into the realm of fact, and vice versa, or a dialogue between two kinds of fiction. Over the last two decades some theorists of historical narrative and biography have argued that the similarities between fictional and nonfictional narrative forms are more significant than the differences. Dennis Petrie, for example, titles his study of biography *Ultimately Fiction*, after a passage from Bernard Malamud's *Dubin's Lives* in which William Dubin realizes that "There is no life that can be wholly recaptured. Which is to say that all biography is ultimately fiction" (180). Ira Bruce Nadel argues similarly that "the greatest stimulus to the representation of lives in biographies is the novel, with character forming the most important point of intersection between the two genres" (104).

Neither Petrie nor Nadel claims that biography is fictional in the sense that biographers simply make up facts (though Poe's biographers sometimes have), but both make the point that a good biography and a good novel are developed with essentially the same tools—point of view, setting, realistic description, irony, metaphor—to achieve the same effects: fully developed, coherent characters, an interesting plot, and some insight into human experience. Poe biographies, ranging from Stanard's deliberately romantic version to Quinn's and Silverman's meticulously documented, detailed narratives, illustrate these theories. The recurring suggestion of fate—borne out by his dramatic death—and the accompanying device of foreshadowing not only suggest some determining factor or tragic flaw in Poe's personality but also provide thematic coherence to the story. The deathbed allusions to *Pym* provide continuity not only between the life and the writing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

but also between Poe's state of mind in 1838 and his state of mind in 1849. Poe's death scene, in short, is ideal for "novelizing" his life; to that end, references to his last days as the "last act in the tragedy" or "The Final Tragedy" are appropriate (Harrison 327).[11]

If the essence of narrative is to make sense out of experience, to display, in Hayden White's words, "a formal coherency that we ourselves lack," then the traditional task of biography has been to turn the events of an individual's life into a story (20). In the case of Poe's death this means taking a few pieces of unreliable written evidence and writing the final act of a tragedy; it means turning what was if anything a pathetic, needless death into the inevitable conclusion of a life-plot. Biographers do not necessarily overstep their bounds in doing so—after all, most people tend to impose narrative coherence on their own lives as well—but few Poe biographers have shown much awareness of the creative nature of their own work. "A life is as much a work of fiction—of guiding narrative structures—as novels and poems," writes Phyllis Rose, and "the task of literary biography is to explore this fiction" (viii). As I suggested earlier, such insights into the fictional nature of nonfiction narrative are particularly relevant to studies of Poe, who throughout his career wrote stories that tested the boundaries between "truth" and fiction. In "Hans Pfaall," for instance, he placed Pfaall's account of a lunar voyage in an obviously fictional, satiric frame, yet boasted in an afterword that the detailed narrative "is intrinsically—is astronomically true—and that it carries upon its very face the value of its own authenticity" (580). "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" demonstrated how easily fiction could create the effect of a "real" discovery: many people, among them journalists and mesmerists, believed Poe's description of a hypnotized man who continues to speak after he dies (Mabbott 1228–32). Given Poe's concern with fact as a textual construct, nothing could be more appropriate than a tradition of fabrication and speculation surrounding his own death. The deathbed scenes of Poe biographies are perhaps more emblematic of his hoaxes than they are of his macabre tales.

What then might the future hold for Poe biography? Given the close relationship between biography and prose fiction, it should not be surprising if increasingly self-reflexive, metanarrative lives of literary figures begin to appear, as Malcolm Bradbury, among others, has hinted: "It would seem that there is only one way for the modern biographer to go, if the quest is to be full, responsive

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to art's and the modern artist's nature. That way, of course, is into the labyrinth, where biography's own construction becomes part of contemporary writerly anxiety" (140). Poe biography has, in fact, begun to reflect this anxiety. Kenneth Silverman highlights the impossibility of making definite statements about Poe's time in the hospital by attributing nearly every individual detail to its source, accepting nothing at face value. Thomas and Jackson, in *The Poe Log*, treat Poe's life as a collection of documents written by and about Poe. While they select and excerpt these documents, and thus shape the evidence somewhat, they do not weave the various accounts together to produce a coherent last scene or to provide closure. These biographers regard Poe's death as a textual puzzle and convey that impression. The next step might be to write a book just on Poe's death, to treat all existing accounts as fictions while participating in that very fiction-making process. The writer who attempts this would try, at least, to have it both ways: to present his or her own theory or speculations, but at the same time to examine Poe's death as an entrance into the labyrinth of textual truth, an interpretive crux that reveals the fictional nature of life-writing.

NOTES

1. Citing a source for these facts illustrates one of the assumptions at work in this essay: that since direct contact with the events in question is impossible, even the most reliable information regarding Poe's life and death can be drawn only from texts representing his life. Thus Poe biographies—and essays on Poe biographies such as this—are interpretations of texts rather than interpretations of "real" events. With that caveat in mind, see Thomas and Jackson 843–46.
2. See also Auerbach 20–70.
3. Counting Poe biographies requires some interpretation, particularly since many books on Poe provide brief biographies before examining his works or else study his character without constructing a narrative of his life. Hyneman lists thirty-four books that are primarily biographies published before 1973. I include Bonaparte because her "Book One" is primarily biography and at 206 pages is long enough to be considered book-length. Since 1973 six more biographies in English have appeared: Sinclair, Mankowitz, Symons, Thomas and Jackson, Silverman, and Meyers.
4. See Nadel, Runyan, Siebenschuh, Petrie, and McKeon.
5. The quotation is from "The City in the Sea." For a detailed discussion of these themes, see Kennedy.
6. The loss of loved ones and Poe's devotion to their memory, while it figures into virtually every Poe biography I've examined, receives the most serious attention from Silverman, whose subtitle, *Mournful and Never-ending*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

but also between Poe's state of mind in 1838 and his state of mind in 1849. Poe's death scene, in short, is ideal for "novelizing" his life; to that end, references to his last days as the "last act in the tragedy" or "The Final Tragedy" are appropriate (Harrison 327).[11]

If the essence of narrative is to make sense out of experience, to display, in Hayden White's words, "a formal coherency that we ourselves lack," then the traditional task of biography has been to turn the events of an individual's life into a story (20). In the case of Poe's death this means taking a few pieces of unreliable written evidence and writing the final act of a tragedy; it means turning what was if anything a pathetic, needless death into the inevitable conclusion of a life-plot. Biographers do not necessarily overstep their bounds in doing so—after all, most people tend to impose narrative coherence on their own lives as well—but few Poe biographers have shown much awareness of the creative nature of their own work. "A life is as much a work of fiction—of guiding narrative structures—as novels and poems," writes Phyllis Rose, and "the task of literary biography is to explore this fiction" (viii). As I suggested earlier, such insights into the fictional nature of nonfiction narrative are particularly relevant to studies of Poe, who throughout his career wrote stories that tested the boundaries between "truth" and fiction. In "Hans Pfaall," for instance, he placed Pfaall's account of a lunar voyage in an obviously fictional, satiric frame, yet boasted in an afterword that the detailed narrative "is intrinsically—is astronomically true—and that it carries upon its very face the value of its own authenticity" (580). "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" demonstrated how easily fiction could create the effect of a "real" discovery: many people, among them journalists and mesmerists, believed Poe's description of a hypnotized man who continues to speak after he dies (Mabbott 1228–32). Given Poe's concern with fact as a textual construct, nothing could be more appropriate than a tradition of fabrication and speculation surrounding his own death. The deathbed scenes of Poe biographies are perhaps more emblematic of his hoaxes than they are of his macabre tales.

What then might the future hold for Poe biography? Given the close relationship between biography and prose fiction, it should not be surprising if increasingly self-reflexive, metanarrative lives of literary figures begin to appear, as Malcolm Bradbury, among others, has hinted: "It would seem that there is only one way for the modern biographer to go, if the quest is to be full, responsive

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to art's and the modern artist's nature. That way, of course, is into the labyrinth, where biography's own construction becomes part of contemporary writerly anxiety" (140). Poe biography has, in fact, begun to reflect this anxiety. Kenneth Silverman highlights the impossibility of making definite statements about Poe's time in the hospital by attributing nearly every individual detail to its source, accepting nothing at face value. Thomas and Jackson, in *The Poe Log,* treat Poe's life as a collection of documents written by and about Poe. While they select and excerpt these documents, and thus shape the evidence somewhat, they do not weave the various accounts together to produce a coherent last scene or to provide closure. These biographers regard Poe's death as a textual puzzle and convey that impression. The next step might be to write a book just on Poe's death, to treat all existing accounts as fictions while participating in that very fiction-making process. The writer who attempts this would try, at least, to have it both ways: to present his or her own theory or speculations, but at the same time to examine Poe's death as an entrance into the labyrinth of textual truth, an interpretive crux that reveals the fictional nature of life-writing.

NOTES

1. Citing a source for these facts illustrates one of the assumptions at work in this essay: that since direct contact with the events in question is impossible, even the most reliable information regarding Poe's life and death can be drawn only from texts representing his life. Thus Poe biographies—and essays on Poe biographies such as this—are interpretations of texts rather than interpretations of "real" events. With that caveat in mind, see Thomas and Jackson 843–46.
2. See also Auerbach 20–70.
3. Counting Poe biographies requires some interpretation, particularly since many books on Poe provide brief biographies before examining his works or else study his character without constructing a narrative of his life. Hyneman lists thirty-four books that are primarily biographies published before 1973. I include Bonaparte because her "Book One" is primarily biography and at 206 pages is long enough to be considered book-length. Since 1973 six more biographies in English have appeared: Sinclair, Mankowitz, Symons, Thomas and Jackson, Silverman, and Meyers.
4. See Nadel, Runyan, Siebenschuh, Petrie, and McKeon.
5. The quotation is from "The City in the Sea." For a detailed discussion of these themes, see Kennedy.
6. The loss of loved ones and Poe's devotion to their memory, while it figures into virtually every Poe biography I've examined, receives the most serious attention from Silverman, whose study, *Mourning and Never-ending*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Remembrance, reflects this emphasis.

7. See Bandy 32-33 on Henry Herring. Bandy also refers to a 1949 article in the *Baltimore Sun* by James H. Beardy that suggests Poe was calling for Henry R. Reynolds, "a carpenter who served as an election judge at the Fourth Ward Polls" (31).
8. For example, biographers have used "William Wilson" as a source of information about Poe's childhood, particularly his days at Stoke-Newington. Ingram quotes the story as if he were quoting Poe as a child: "'I am,' he declared, 'the descendent of a race whose imaginative and easily excitable temperament has at all times rendered them remarkable . . .'" (9). Allen introduces a lengthy quote from "William Wilson" by saying, "One cannot do better than to let Edgar Allan Poe himself describe it [Manor House Academy] and the life he led there," revealing the source as a work of fiction only in a footnote. Biographical readings of Poe's stories are even more common. For example, Sinclair concludes his chapter on Poe's death by reasserting an autobiographical reading: "Perhaps there was no other possible end for the man who created Roderick Usher—the man who *was* Roderick Usher" (257). And Meyers reads "The Black Cat" as an "essential outlet for [Poe's] remorse, resentment, and rage" against Virginia (137).
9. Allen noted insightfully in 1926 that "Because, for many intricate historical reasons, the America from 1800 to the Civil War and, particularly, the America of the 1830's and 1840's was long allowed to lapse into oblivion, only the lyrical and romantically-imaginative work of Poe is generally known to the present generation" (xi).
10. See, for example, Limon, Whalen, Nelson, Dayan, and Long. I don't mean to suggest that critics have been oblivious to the social contexts of Poe's works until very recently; for example, Miller, Moss, and Allen examine Poe in the context of the nineteenth-century publishing industry. But recently critics such as Whalen and Nelson have been considering Poe's fiction in relation to larger economic and social issues of the period. My main point here is that biographers, who have had more influence on the public image of Poe than critics, have paid only scant attention to the cultural contexts of Poe's writing. Among them Hervey Allen probably has come closest to providing useful historical background to Poe's life.
11. "The Final Tragedy" is Sinclair's title for his last chapter.

WORKS CITED

Allen, Hervey. *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe.* Rev. ed. New York: Farrar and Reinhart, 1934.

Allen, Michael. *Poe and the British Magazine Tradition.* New York: Oxford UP, 1969.

Auerbach, Jonathan. *The Romance of Failure: First-Person Fictions of Poe, Hawthorne, and Henry James.* New York: Oxford UP, 1989.

Bandy, W. T. "Dr. Moran and the Poe-Reynolds Myth." *Myths and Reality: The Mysterious Mr. Poe.* Ed. Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV. Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1987. 26–36.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Baudelaire, Charles. *Baudelaire on Poe: Critical Papers.* Ed. Lois Hyslop and Frances E. Hyslop, Jr. State College, PA: Bald Eagle, 1952.

Bittner, William. *Poe: A Biography.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1962.

Bonaparte, Marie. *The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* London: Imago, 1949.

Bradbury, Malcolm. "The Telling Life: Some Thoughts on Literary Biography." *The Troubled Face of Biography.* Ed. Eric Homberger and John Charmley. London: Macmillan, 1988. 131–40.

Dayan, Joan. "Romance and Race." *The Columbia History of the American Novel.* Ed. Emory Elliott. New York: Columbia UP, 1991. 89–109.

Gill, William F. *The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1878.

Harrison, James A. *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe.* 1903. Rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1970.

Hyneman, Esther. *Edgar Allan Poe: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles in English, 1827–1973.* Boston: G. K. Hall, 1974.

Ingram, John. *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters, and Opinions.* 1886. Rpt. New York: AMS, 1965.

Kennedy, J. Gerald. *Poe, Death, and the Life of Writing.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1987.

Krutch, Joseph Wood. *Edgar Allan Poe: A Study in Genius.* London: Knopf, 1926.

Limon, John. "Poe's Methodology." *The Place of Fiction in the Time of Science: A Disciplinary History of American Writing.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 70–120.

Lindberg, Gary. *The Confidence Man in American Literature.* New York: Oxford UP, 1982.

Lindsay, Philip. *The Haunted Man: A Portrait of Edgar Allan Poe.* London: Hutchinson, 1953.

Lloyd, J.A.T. *The Murder of Edgar Allan Poe.* London: Stanley Paul, 1931.

Long, David. "Poe's Political Identity: A Mummy Unswathed." *Poe Studies* 23.1 (June 1990): 1–22.

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive. Introduction to "Valdemar." *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978. 1228–32.

McKeon, Michael. "Writer as Hero: Novelistic Prefigurations and the Emergence of Literary Biography." *Contesting the Subject: Essays in the Postmodern Theory and Practice of Biography and Biographical Criticism.* Ed. William H. Epstein. West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1991. 17–41.

Mankowitz, Wolf. *The Extraordinary Mr. Poe.* New York: Summit, 1978.

Meyers, Jeffrey. *Edgar A. Poe: His Life and Legacy.* New York: Scribner's, 1992.

Miller, Perry. *The Raven and the Whale.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956.

Moran, Dr. John J. *A Defense of Edgar Allan Poe: Life, Character and Dying Declaration.* Washington, D.C.: Boogher, 1885.

Moss, Sidney. *Poe's Literary Battles.* Durham: Duke UP, 1963.

Nadel, Ira Bruce. *Biography: Fiction, Form, and Fact.* London: Macmillan, 1984.

Nelson, Dana. "Ethnocentrism Decentered: Colonial Motives in *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym.*" *The Word in Black and White: Reading Race in American Literature, 1638–1867.* New York: Oxford UP, 1991. 90–108.

Petrie, Dennis W. *Ultimately Fiction: Design in Modern American Literary Biography.* West Lafayette: Purdue UP, 1981.

Poe, Edgar Allan. "Hans Pfaall." *Southern Literary Messenger* 1 (1835): 565–80.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1941.

Rose, Phyllis. *Woman of Letters: A Life of Virginia Woolf.* New York: Oxford UP, 1978.

Runyan, William McKinley. *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method.* New York: Oxford UP, 1982.

Shanks, Edward. *Edgar Allan Poe.* New York: Macmillan, 1937.

Siebenschuh, William R. *Fictional Techniques and Factual Works.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1983.

Silverman, Kenneth. *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance.* New York: HarperCollins, 1991.

Sinclair, David. *Edgar Allan Poe.* Totawa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.

Stanard, Mary Newton. *The Dreamer: A Romantic Rendering of the Life-Story of Edgar Allan Poe.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1925.

Symons, Julian. *The Tell-Tale Heart: The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Thomas, Dwight, and David K. Jackson. *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 1809–1849.* Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987.

Weiss, Susan Archer. *The Home Life of Edgar Allan Poe.* New York: Broadway, 1907.

Whalen, Terence. "Edgar Allan Poe and the Horrid Laws of Political Economy." *American Quarterly* 44.3 (September 1992): 381–417.

White, Hayden. "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality." *On Narrative.* Ed. W. J. T. Mitchell. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981. 1–25.

Winwar, Frances. *The Haunted Palace: A Life of Edgar Allan Poe.* New York: Harper, 1959.

Woodberry, George E. *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary.* 1909. Rpt. New York: Chelsea House, 1980.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GABRIELE HELMS

The Coincidence of Biography and Autobiography: Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*

The ongoing theoretical debates about the genres of biography and autobiography are often concerned with genre classifications, gender issues, intentions as well as techniques and methods, and a general rethinking of given paradigms. Many long-held categorizations and evaluations prove questionable in the context of post-structuralist and feminist theories. Victoria Glendinning has described the situation using an interesting image; she says that the "Berlin Wall between fiction and biography, between autobiography and biography, between politics and biography, has huge breaches in it" (4). I take Glendinning's assessment one step further—this Wall not only has breaches, it has actually collapsed. In this paper I want to find a way out of the ruins of the collapsed Wall. Instead of despairing because of blurred boundaries, unclear definitions, and questionable genre distinctions, I will attempt a revision of the theoretical approach to biography. My focus on the creation of the biographer-persona as a core device in biographical texts demonstrates that a biography can also be read as an autobiographical work about this persona. By examining the role and functions of the biographer-persona, I will shift the focus from the observed subject of the biography to its observing subject, the narrator. This shift in my approach from the traditional value criterion of "truthfulness" to the methods and devices employed in biographies derives from the larger theoretical and methodological framework of radical constructivism as applied to literary studies. In the second half of the paper Eliz-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857) will serve as an example of how my approach can inform a new reading of a nineteenth-century text. I hope to show that applying a 1990s-understanding of auto/biography and its personae is not restricted to the analysis of contemporary literature. By separating the theoretical discussions about biography in general and the biographer-persona in particular from Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* as my case study, I hope to facilitate the transfer of my approach to other texts.

I suggest that the creation of a biographer-persona is one of the essential devices characterizing the genre of biography. Wilson Snipes has pointed out that the stance biographers establish for themselves through their personae is the basis of their craft and art (237). By necessity, if biographers want to tell a "life-story," they will have to invent a narrating voice in the text. This biographer-persona then presents the gathered material, establishes chronology, and suggests narrative connections.[1] Our awareness of the nature of language and its usage, of the nature of narrative, of themes and methodologies, renders it almost impossible to argue any longer that "the highest biographical art is the concealment of the biographer" (Kendall 12).

Critics have argued that because "[b]oth factual and fictional biographies . . . are made up, and in this sense are fictions" (Schabert 7), the difference between an auto/biography and a novel "lies not in the factuality of the one and fictiveness of the other" (Abbot 603). From this, one might assume that our twentieth-century decline of belief in the unmediated, ontological status of "reality" would have decisively influenced critics' approaches to biographical recognition. Even when this ontological dilemma is recognized, however, most critics will still maintain the fictional/factual distinction.[2] William H. Epstein has skillfully summarized how biographical recognition has been reluctant to abandon the "natural attitude" to events "as naturally discrete occurrences" (37) and to fact "as monumental or inflexible, as a cold, hard, silent thing" (46); we can conclude that "epistemological naivete is a distinctive feature of biographical recognition," which Epstein traces to the attempt to maintain "the natural" as one of the last strongholds of empirical knowledge (38). If, however, biography has lost its critical innocence (Frank 499), then Epstein's suggestions for a more radical approach to biographical recognition seem the most consistent, as such a perspective would see a life as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

culturally, not naturally, constituted and biographical recognition as an activity that authorizes "transformations between various processes of discursive encoding" (46).

To question the status of fact and fiction and thereby the objectivity of human knowledge involves discussion of concepts such as reality, knowledge, and truth. My own work on the biographer-persona, and thus my focus on the observing and constructing subject, is situated in the epistemological context of constructivism, a philosophical approach that postulates among other things that reality is not found but invented. Consequently, constructivism focuses on the subject and its cognitive activities, a focus markedly different from theories of cognition based on an objective reality independent of an observing subject.[3] Constructivist theory thus not only reformulates but also provides an empirical foundation for Immanuel Kant's idea of transcendentality. According to a constructivist theory of cognition, we do not have access to an objective reality; actually, "what becomes conscious has already been modelled and imprinted automatically by our brains" (Schmidt, "Construction of Fiction" 320). Thus, we cannot perceive anything that lies outside our own experience. Though constructivists do not deny, as a solipsist would, the existence of the ontological world, they do deny the possibility of making a statement about its "real" nature. Thus, an individual does not mirror "the" reality in the process of perception; rather, through neuronic activity of their brains, individuals construct models of the world in their cognitive domains.

The radicalness of constructivism lies in the assumption that all cognitive systems depend on processes of construction. When reality is not directly accessible and the term is instead used to refer to human perception and the models of reality constructed by human cognition, the focus shifts from the ontological world to the observer and the process of cognition itself. Instead of searching for an iconic representation or an objective copy of ontological reality, we begin to understand knowing as the attempt to find out "whether or not our constructs are viable in a problem-solving situation" (Schmidt, "Logic of Observation" 303). As Siegfried J. Schmidt has explained:

> By transforming the concept of "ontological objectivity" into that of "interactive intersubjectivity," the epistemological attention shifts from "the real world" to norms and criteria for consensuality and intersubjectivity in a social group or in a society as a whole,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> and to the language by which observers operate on events and activities in their consensual domains. ("Construction of Fiction" 322)

Radical constructivism has some important implications for literature and more specifically the biographer-persona. Since people produce their own models of the world through thoughts and language, descriptions in language, or fictions, actually constitute our reality, because the world is only accessible as a world in language. If we further pursue this idea of reality as a range of descriptions, as fictions, then all forms of literature are fictitious descriptions of a fiction, and literature is the description of a description, and literary research the description of a description of a description. . . . This is not mere wordplay; rather, within constructivist theory, literary critics are not interested in the objective content of descriptions but in the specific methods, devices, and so on that characterize literary forms. As Schmidt concludes:

> *Wenn dieser Dualismus [zwischen Kunst und Wirklichkeit] wegfällt, dann beginnt man zu begreifen, dass Literatur und Kunst zwei von vielen Kommunikations-und Beschreibungsmöglichkeiten für unsere Erfahrungen sind, die sich eben nicht durch ihre Konstruktivität, sondern nur durch den Gebrauch besonderer Verfahren von solchen wirklichkeitskonstruktiven Prozessen unterscheiden, die wir nicht als Kunst betrachten.* ("Der Radikale Konstruktivismus" 70)

> If this dualism [of fact and fiction] is gone, one starts to realize that literature and art are two of many possibilities to communicate and describe our experiences; they do not differ from those processes constructing reality which we do not consider art in terms of their constructedness, but in terms of the particular methods they use. (author's translation)

Let me now consider the implications of constructivism for traditional genre classifications. If everything is ultimately fictive, then the fictional/factual dichotomy can no longer help to differentiate between genres, such as novels versus auto/biographies. Can genre distinctions still be maintained? Yes, but we may have to acknowledge that genres themselves are constructions, and in this light reconsider what constitutes the differences between genres and what specific communicative, aesthetic, and political purposes these genres serve.[4] As Mary Jean Corbett assumes in her discussion of autobiographies, our generic expectations are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

historically determined and are produced by and produce cultural practices (5). Conventions of reading biographies as true portrayals of a person's life have been undermined by our growing epistemological skepticism. Biography therefore can best be regarded as a hybrid form that searches for a possible, plausible, but necessarily fictive, version of a life experience. Such a definition also accounts for autobiographical writing. Viewed in this light, the need for rigid genre distinctions between autobiography and biography becomes redundant, thus facilitating an exploration of what critics have referred to as "the murky area of biography-cum-autobiography" (Yalom 53).[5] This more flexible approach would encourage us to read for the autobiographical in a biography and vice versa, thereby enabling us to focus on issues of relative dominance and interplay, rather than binary differences.

Biographies cannot help being "colored by the subjective world of the biographer" and the persona this biographer creates in the text (Bell and Yalom 3). The selection and organization of material must be done by the biographer, whose perception of the subject is bound to be subjective—a constructed model of the other person. Thus, biographers' choices have to be autobiographically determined.[6] As Liz Stanley has summarized, "'the biographer' is a socially-located person, one who is sexed, raced, classed, aged, to mention no more, and is so every bit as much as an autobiographer is" (7). In what the biographer-personae reveal about their subjects, they evoke, reflect, and reveal themselves to the reader (Kuhn 13; Shelston 30): "the way one particular figure comments explicitly on another also contains elements of implicit self-characterization" (Pfister 186).[7] This, however, does not suggest that the author is identical with the storyteller, the biographer-persona, in the text.[8] To examine such a correlation responsibly would require studying the writer's own system of preconditions, which includes internalized values, norms, conventions, needs, intentions, motives, and knowledge.[9]

To avoid the biographical fallacy and to recognize the text as a construction in language, I will restrict my discussion to the information about the persona in the text. Problematizing the autobiographical dimension of biography even further, I want to draw on Robert Elbaz, who has convincingly argued that autobiography in turn can be read as biography (10–12).[10] To write autobiographically, writers have to create narratives of themselves; they have to make themselves into objects, personae, or a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

multiplicity of personae that can be examined and described from the outside: "just as we construct a *model* of a world, externalize it, and then treat it as though its existence were independent of our doing, so we construct a model of the entity that we call our 'self' and externalize it" (Glasersfeld 445–46). Viewed in this light, we can see that autobiography and biography are mutual and coincidental; neither is dependent or subordinate to the other.[11] The result is an amalgamation that defies the traditionally exclusive genre distinctions. Like a double image in perceptual psychology, auto/biography can be seen as an ambiguous stimulus pattern: the perceiver decides which element to concentrate on. A classification of genres less rigidly set in terms of dominance relations has no problems accounting for these forms of coincidence. By shifting the focus of biographical analyses to the biographer-personae, we recognize and emphasize the importance of biographers' own self-definitions, self-creations, and the coming to terms with themselves in the process of writing someone else's life-story.[12]

However, because of a lack of analytical tools, a broad gap exists between these theoretical explanations and existing textual analyses. In order to recognize where the biographer-personae reveal something about themselves in their observations of and revelations about their subjects, I will employ some ideas regarding the analysis of narrators' functions that Ansgar Nünning has developed in his communicative model of narrative transmission, and applied to George Eliot's novels (84–125). Appropriation of these ideas from narrative theory seems justifiable because biography in the form of the biographer-persona has a narrating voice that is very similar to a homo/heterodiegetic narrator.[13] Drawing on Jakobson's model of speech functions, Nünning identifies a spectrum of narrators that ranges from covert mediators to overt narrators (85). At the covert end the narrator mainly performs basic narrative functions that are obligatory and together create the narrated world. The information here constitutes the local, temporal, and personal deixis. In this category of narrative-diegetic statements, the biographer-personae reveal themselves through the means they use to establish the narrated world.

When the narrator becomes more explicit as a personalized character, nonobligatory or optional statements can serve additional analytical functions. Such remarks include explanatory-interpretive and evaluative comments on the characters, their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

actions, and their perspectives. Generalizations, reflections, and aphorisms that are not immediately related to the narrated world perform synthetic functions: they abstract and proceed from the particular to the general. Finally, statements that address the narrator's situation and the act of narration itself have reflexive or discursive functions. Here, the narrator moves into the foreground with expressive, appellative, phatic, and metanarrative comments. A speaking instance, a personalized narrator, is shaped through these optional statements with analytical, synthetic, and reflexive functions. They allow the reader to (re)construct the persona's underlying system of preconditions. In this way the narrators/biographer-personae most overtly reveal autobiographical information about themselves in the text.

I will now turn to Elizabeth Gaskell's biography *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* as a case study to indicate the interpretative value of my theoretical explorations and analytical categories. Primarily examined as a rendering of the details of Charlotte Brontë's life, and therefore usually read in connection with her life and works, it is less often examined to determine what the biographer has accomplished and how Elizabeth Gaskell has created that persona in the text. Some critical studies of Gaskell do not deal with *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* at all; others have severe difficulty in placing it within or alongside her novelistic oeuvre. Only Felicia Bonaparte, to my knowledge, has claimed that "*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* is less a biography than an autobiography" (232). Beginning to analyse the particular novelistic methods Gaskell employs, Ira Nadel similarly sees Gaskell using the biography indirectly to re-examine her own "goals and achievements through recounting those of her friend" (123). I do not intend to compare this biography with other biographies of Charlotte Brontë to establish a list of errors and omissions in Gaskell's work; instead, I will show how the theoretical basis developed in this paper can further expand and refine Nadel's and Bonaparte's perspectives on *The Life of Charlotte Brontë,* shed brighter light on the autobiographical dimension of the text, and establish its rightful place among Gaskell's works.

The optional statements the biographer-persona makes in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* show the most obvious autobiographical traces. To start, let me look more closely at one example for both evaluative and explanatory comments that have analytical functions:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> He [Mr. Brontë] never seemed quite to have lost the feeling that Charlotte was a child to be guided and ruled, when she was present; and she herself submitted to this with a quiet docility that half amused, half astonished me. But when she had to leave the room, then all his pride in her genius and fame came out. (508)
>
> I could not but deeply admire the patient docility which she displayed in her conduct towards her father. (511)

Patsy Stoneman has suggested that Gaskell's description of Mr. Brontë may well be exaggerated and that the astonishment expressed at Charlotte's patient docility towards her father reveals the persona's lack of experience of a similar situation herself (25). From the passage one can gather that the amusement and surprise the narrator feels are due to her own unfamiliarity with such behavior. The response implies that she is not to the same extent used to living in a patriarchal household where it is simply the woman's/child's duty to succumb to the man/father in the house. While the surprise may arise from a sense of unfamiliarity, the admiration leaves the reader with more problems. The fact that the biographer expresses admiration for this kind of docility conveys the impression that she values obedience but does not contemplate its implications of suppression.

A number of explanatory comments can be found in the accounts of Charlotte's childhood. The biographer describes and explains the children's loneliness by saying that "the children did not want society." That this is pointed out at all may suggest that the girls did not need anybody else because they were each other's best company: "They were all in all to each other." However, although admiring the sisters' interest in current newspapers, the biographer continues: "But I suspect that they had no 'children's books'" and later "[t]hey knew no other children." These observations suggest that the previous comment—"the children did not want society"—expresses the biographer's surprise and her desire to record an unusual seclusion that she cannot find "normal" for children. Thus, the statement reveals some of her internalized values and understandings about social life: children should grow up in the company of other children, read "children's books," maybe enjoy "infantine gaieties," and not be restricted to the company of adults who can only teach them grown-up "modes of thought" (93–95).

For other interpreting and judging comments, consider sentences such as these: "It appears strange that Mr Wilson should

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not have been informed by the teachers of the way in which the food was served up" at Cowan's Bridge School, which the Brontë sisters attended (103); "[i]t seems to me a daring experiment on the part of their teacher," that is of M. Héger, who prohibited French dictionaries and grammar books so that the students could learn "the spirit and rhythm rather from the ear and the heart" (233). The adjectives "strange" and "daring" hint at an underlying system of values, norms, and expectations. Both phrases suggest that a certain acceptable limit has been transgressed; both instances do not conform to the biographer-persona's own standards and expectations. According to her, the severity of the situation at school—the cook is described as "careless, dirty, and wasteful" (102)—would have called for the other teachers' intervention even if it was not their department of expertise or immediate responsibility. And in the case of M. Héger, his teaching methods not only contradict the persona's own training but they also set him apart as different, namely French.

Most of the biographer-persona's explicit comments serve reflexive and discursive functions. Exclamations indicate the biographer's personal and emotional involvement in the state of affairs she describes. "Poor misguided fellow!" she comments on Branwell, "this craving to see and know London, and that stronger craving after fame, were never to be satisfied" (156). As for Charlotte's and Emily's trip to Brussels, she exclaims: "What a contrast . . . must the Belgian capital have presented to those two young women thus left behind!" (225). In both cases the expressive statements show the persona's empathy with the people she is talking about. In describing their experiences, she is almost reliving them with them; the immediacy of emotions suggests to the reader the importance and significance of the affairs described.

Appellative statements appear prominently in Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë:* "It will be interesting to some of my readers to know . . ." (119), "[l]et us somehow hope . . ." (269), "[t]he reader may remember the strange prophetic vision, which dictated a few words" (400).[14] Two of the most commonly used types of appellative statements appear here. Indirect addresses, which seem to impute certain attitudes to the readers and direct their attitudes and actions, are even more frequent than the pronoun "we," which suggests an alliance of narrator and fictive reader. The range of functions assigned to these appellations can be seen in the following example from the book's last paragraph:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> But I turn from the critical, unsympathetic public—inclined to judge harshly because they have only seen superficially and not thought deeply. I appeal to that larger and more solemn public, who know how to look with tender humility at faults and errors; how to admire generously extraordinary genius, and how to reverence with warm, full hearts all noble virtue. (526)

The biographer-persona tries to do two things at once. By identifying the intended readership for her portrayal of Charlotte Brontë, she thus reveals her own standards: a reading is good when it is deep and when it displays tolerance towards the writer. Second, she suggests to the readers that they exactly fit this description because they have already read the whole biography. By assuming similar value systems for herself and her readership, she reinforces her readers' standards, thus flattering their self-understanding and esteem. Hence, in addition to having an appellative character, these comments also serve phatic functions. By establishing common ground between herself and her readers, she ensures the openness of the communication channel and constantly reaffirms her readers' interest in her narrative. I want to suggest, however, that these types of appellative and phatic comments appear at exactly those points where the biographer faces problems in her presentation and feels a need to reassure herself of her readers' attention. While these statements pretend to say something about the personality of Charlotte Brontë, they say just as much about the biographer's own process of narrating the story of Charlotte's life.

The metanarrative and self-reflexive utterances make the biographer-persona stand out most clearly against the background of the life told in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*. In these remarks, the persona explicitly draws attention to her own telling of Brontë's life, the act of narration itself, and the rewards and problems along the way. In doing so, she gives expression to her own feelings and attitudes. The focus thus very subtly shifts from Charlotte Brontë to the persona; very subtly indeed, because it is still the telling of Charlotte's life that triggers the persona's reactions.

Expressing and validating her own intentions are of primary concern to the biographer-persona from the beginning of her narration. She repeatedly emphasizes how seriously she takes the task of writing this biography, or as she says in the opening sentence of the second chapter, of presenting the "right understanding of the life of my dear friend, Charlotte Brontë" (60). The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"right understanding" for the biographer has to include explanations and answers about how a life so devoid of social experience as Charlotte's could produce the novels hers did. It has to account for the harshness of Brontë's life, the way that Charlotte's sense of duty sustained her in the midst of all the labor and pain in the Brontë household, and the fact that her life was a triumph of spirit over suffering: "How I could show what a noble, true, and tender woman Charlotte Brontë really was" (490). The desire to provide these answers, at the same time, is accompanied by the wish "to arrive at the truth" (98), to give an "illustration of the truth" (131), and by her "resolution of writing truly" (490). The persona expresses a twofold reason for her way of approaching this biography. One is to prove the conclusion correct that a remarkable novel such as *Jane Eyre* supposes the existence of a remarkable person who wrote it. And second, the biography is a response to the criticism of Brontë as a woman writer and to the charges of coarseness against her writing.

Having determined the "right understanding" to be the primary goal of the narrator, I now want to explore the methods and techniques Gaskell's persona uses and problematizes in both collecting and presenting her material. To achieve this "right understanding," Gaskell does not choose the popular approach of a "Life and Work" biography. She does not give detailed information about Brontë's works, nor critical exegesis of her novels, nor hardly any critical evaluation. This in turn indicates that the persona assumes that the reader who takes up this account of Brontë's life will be familiar with the contents of her novels—that such familiarity is the very reason for interest and curiosity about Charlotte's life story: "I am not going to write an analysis of a book with which every one who reads this biography is sure to be acquainted" (326). Moreover, a positive assessment of Charlotte's novels would have been difficult for Gaskell, since she was quite critical of them, as her letters indicate (Nadel 125).

The material that is finally used and incorporated into *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* is diverse in both form and content. It includes extracts from letters to and from Charlotte's close friend Ellen Nussey (about 350 letters were given to Gaskell by Nussey herself); Brontë's publisher George Smith; his colleague William Smith Williams; Miss Wooler, her teacher and later employer at Roe Head; her schoolfriend Mary Taylor; and Robert Southey and George Henry Lewes as well. Other correspondence includes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Charlotte's mother's letters to Patrick Brontë, Branwell's correspondence with William Wordsworth, and Anne's response to an invitation from friends. The biography also includes one of Charlotte Brontë's poems; two of her French exercises written in Brussels; Ellen Nussey's account of Anne's last days (which Gaskell slightly altered); extracts from Charlotte's own novels; and quotations from three biographies: Scatcherd's *History of Birstall,* Newton's *Life of Grimshaw,* and Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood.* Moreover, we are given the inscription on the Brontë family mural tablet found in their church. And last but not least, there are frequent references to oral communication, which is used as a source of information in the biography; in particular, the conversations with Charlotte are presented as extremely precious because they are first-hand information and serve as proof of authenticity.[15]

With the strong emphasis on letters, Gaskell's biography can be seen squarely in the Victorian "Life and Letters" tradition, such as J. W. Cross's biography of George Eliot. Gaskell's biographer-persona explains that she wants to use Brontë's letters as much as possible: "Acting on the conviction, which I have all along entertained, that where Charlotte Brontë's own words could be used, no others ought to take their place" (288).[16] However, the biography does not strike the reader as a random collection. The persona presents herself as being extremely self-conscious and careful in the selection of each letter. It is almost as if she needs to justify each reprinting by stating the purpose of the quotation beforehand. The persona frequently introduces the letters with phrases like the following: "I have given this extract in order to explain the imaginary groundwork of a commotion" (57); "I have given this extract because I conceive it bears some reference to the life of Miss Brontë" (80); "I give it as a specimen of the remarkable poetical talent" (122); "[w]hat their plans were, let Charlotte explain" (156); and "[t]o fill up the account . . . I may add a few more extracts" (204).[17]

And yet, while the biographer explains the function of every letter and tries to give authenticity to her presentation of Charlotte's life by using her subject's "own words" as much as possible, the persona seems to be unaware of what her acts of quotation and her montage of texts do to the originals. As Meir Sternberg points out, any montage of texts, any use of quotation will change the function of the passage quoted: "whatever the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

units involved, to quote is to mediate, to mediate is to frame, and to frame is to interfere and exploit," since "[q]ua representational discourse, therefore, each act of quotation serves two masters" (145, 152). The letters, for instance, originally a means for Brontë to communicate with other people, in Gaskell's biography assume explanatory and complementary functions to illustrate Charlotte's life. The biographer subordinates the letters to serve her intentions. The organization of the letters also reflects her exertion of control and power: they become an expression of the persona's autobiographical choices and intentions. The reader may therefore get a strong sense that the montage of material does not allow free dialogic play between its elements, because the possible interactions take the preplanned form chosen by the governing biographer-persona.

In addition to problematizing the compilation of material and the act of narration, the biographer-persona overtly expresses doubts about her ability to evaluate the personalities and circumstances she presents:

> But I do not pretend to be able to harmonize points of character, and account for them, and bring them all into one consistent and intelligible whole. The family with whom I have now to do shot their roots down deeper than I can penetrate. I cannot measure them, much less is it for me to judge them. (90)[18]

By acknowledging her own limitations and questioning her reliability as a narrator and biographer, Gaskell's persona reinforces some of the essential mystery connected with Charlotte Brontë's life. Although the persona claims to present a "right understanding," she thus creates a loophole for herself to escape accusations of misjudgment.[19]

And yet, although the biographer seems to admit that she "cannot measure or judge of such a character" as Charlotte's (526), the biographer undermines that statement by her own intention to provide the "right understanding" of her subject's life. Ultimately, she controls the readers' responses to Charlotte's life story, as her narrative sets Charlotte up as a moral exemplum—a purpose that is a judgment in itself. The same biographer who claims to refrain from judgment and measurement chooses and organizes her material very carefully. Aspects of Charlotte's life that would cause the persona to question her own admiration and undermine the picture of Charlotte as moral

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exemplum, such as her "purely imaginative writing" and her novels (119), or her strong attraction to M. Héger in Brussels, are either left out of the biography—here gaps speak for themselves—or they are assimilated to fit the purpose.[20] Inevitably, the biographer makes herself the measure against which she indirectly judges Charlotte and projects her own values in her justification of her friend.[21] The biographer's assessment of Charlotte's worth is thus closely linked to personal feelings about her subject. The "advantage of sympathy" leads to an expression of intimacy with and admiration for her subject that have been said to form the basis of the biographer-subject relationship.[22] Her admiration for Charlotte as dutiful model daughter, for instance, strongly suggests the biographer's own casting of herself in the surrogate mother's role—the mother who has to protect her child, if only from mistaken charges after Charlotte's death.

The biographer's attempt to separate Brontë the writer from Brontë the woman looms large in an autobiographical reading of *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.*[23] Bonaparte argues that Gaskell could only portray Brontë in a positive light—and defend her from charges of coarseness brought against her writing after her death—if she "disengaged the woman from her offending daemonic self," her fiction (242). The separation then reveals the biographer's primary interest in Brontë's life story: can a woman live the life of an artist?[24] The biographer-persona does not strive to show the blending of the two selves of author "Currer Bell" and woman "Charlotte Brontë"; rather, she reinforces the disparity between the responsibility and duty of the household role versus the fulfilment and selfishness of the writer's role. While Nadel believes that Brontë "stimulated, challenged and confirmed the commitment of the biographer to the career of literature" and that the biography thus became "a striking self-proclamation on the part of the author" (129), I must agree with Bonaparte, who comes to a different conclusion: "If Gaskell, then, began the biography hoping to find through Charlotte Brontë the strength to assert that, although a woman, she had the right to be an artist, she did not succeed in convincing herself. Instead, she managed to turn Charlotte Brontë into an image of 'Mrs. Gaskell'" (250). While Gaskell kept writing—less controversial novels, as Nadel points out (130)—she never saw herself as a professional writer but as a woman who wrote (Bonaparte 248–49).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Although the biographer is at times conscious of her own limitations and trustworthiness, she does not seem to question the reliability of her central character, Charlotte Brontë. Charlotte herself seems to have imposed the fiction of her novels onto her own childhood, and thus her reality had been changed in the process of recalling it in her conversations with Gaskell. Gaskell's persona, however, presents Charlotte as her key witness and uses Charlotte's novels to support her oral testimony. She replicates Charlotte's own personal fiction of her life, and thus "truth" is recursively fictionalized. As presented to the reader through her biographer-persona, Gaskell's account of Brontë's life can therefore be seen as double-layered or double-voiced—Charlotte's rendering of how she felt about herself, her family, and so on, and the biographer's perception of it. And although the persona is aware that the "truth" she presents is inevitably a personal truth and that Charlotte's own truth is subjective, the persona is neither consistent in acknowledging the inevitability of subjective truth nor does she fully explore the implications of these realizations.[25] The title seems to provide the most obvious example in this context: *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.* If Gaskell had wanted to emphasize that her biography of Charlotte Brontë was only one version among many others, she could have avoided the definite article. It is open to speculation whether this decision was due to title conventions or a deliberate choice on the biographer's part.

Let me briefly reconsider the effects of the explicit statements of the biographer-persona through her revealing of autobiographical information. All of the examples discussed strongly emphasize the subjectiveness of the biographer's stance in her portrayal of Charlotte's life, the effect of which is threefold. First, through her interpretations and judgments and the ensuing selection and presentation of material, the biographer-persona creates a muted, "essentially one-dimensional portrait" of Charlotte (Bick 46). While the subjective filter has narrowing effects on the narration of Charlotte's life, it reveals an additional layer of the biographer's position. Second, the strong presence of the biographer creates a sense of coherence, even if the material or information about Charlotte is rather weak, or if the biographer has doubts about her own abilities and reliability. Even the constant expression of doubt can create coherence. And third, the metanarrative nature of many of her comments destroys the attitude we are likely to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adopt in reading a narrative literary biography, namely to "read narrative biographies much as we read a novel or watch a play or film—with a willing suspension of disbelief and submission to the illusion that we are perceiving an unmediated reality" (Frank 507). This illusion is destroyed by the biographer's explicit, necessarily autobiographical statements that introduce her own reflections.

This article has moved from a theoretical and abstract problematization of the biographer-persona as a central device in biographies to an analysis of this persona in Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.* I have shown that a more flexible approach to genre classification allows me to see the inevitable coincidence of biography and autobiography and to explore their mutual implications. Slightly modified ideas from narrative theory have provided the necessary analytical criteria to trace the biographer-persona in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.* The persona's consciousness of the distortions wrought by a remembering ego that seeks to recreate the past of a friend reveals at least as much about the biographer as it reveals about the subject Charlotte Brontë. In observing and constructing her subject's life, the narrator assesses her own position in the act of telling and becomes a personalized character that stands out against Charlotte's life.

The collapse of the Berlin Wall between biography and autobiography, between fact and fiction, has brought initial problems of definition and classification. It has problematized the approach to and attraction of the genre of biography that used to lie in its being "a bastion of humanism safe from encroachment by the spirit of postmodernism" (Middlebrook 155). However, the gains seem to outweigh the losses. More than anything, the collapse has brought new freedom to reconsider and modify traditional concepts and categorizations, to shift the focus in biographical analyses from product to process and from the observed to the observing subject, and hence it has created an opening for (re-) readings from new perspectives.

NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I would like to thank Susanna Egan and Janice Fiamengo for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this paper.

1. In this regard, consider Siegfried J. Schmidt: "With regard to biographies or autobiographies, we have to conclude from these hypotheses that the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

order of the narrated events stems from the narration and not from the order of events narrated" ("Past" 200).

2. William R. Siebenschuh, for instance, concludes that discussions of the role of fictional techniques in factual works, such as biography, autobiography, and history, are crucial, but that "simply because fictional techniques are used extensively," factual works are not "fictional in the sense that a novel or a poem is fictional" (148). Such techniques will not compromise the generic credibility of factual genres that are ultimately to be treated with "obviously different assumptions" (139). Ina Schabert ends up assigning the fictional and the factional different organizing principles, and H. Porter Abbot reintroduces these terms through a taxonomy of literary attitudes—truth standards in reader responses that range from fictive and autographic to factual. Ira B. Nadel acknowledges that biography cannot convey the "facts" in an objective manner (208), and therefore shifts his focus to the language and narrative modes used in biographies to get at the aesthetic and structural functions of fact in this genre.

3. Unfortunately, I cannot elaborate here on the concept of constructivism. Following Schmidt, one can differentiate among four main constructivist approaches: neuro-biological (H. R. Maturana, F. J. Varela); cybernetic (H. von Foerster); socio-philosophical (N. Luhmann); and psycho-philosophical (E. von Glasersfeld) ("Logic of Observation" 296). For other useful introductions to the ideas of (radical) constructivism, see Paul Watzlawick; and Schmidt "Der Radikale Konstruktivismus" and "On the Construction of Fiction."

4. I have been assisted in formulating this point by Julia Watson and Sidonie Smith xviii. As an example, see David Amigoni, who explores how Victorian biography assisted in the construction of the academic disciplines of literature and history.

5. Liz Stanley similarly argues that "the same analytic apparatus is required for engaging with all forms of life writing, for the same questions and problematics demand critical inquiry. This is not to deny that there are differences between different forms of life writing, but it is to argue that these differences are not *generic*" (3).

6. Lois W. Banner affirms that "critics are coming to agree that no biographer can keep his or her own autobiography from the biography being written. For a biographer inevitably empathizes, either positively or negatively, with her or his subject: as in the process of psychological analysis, transference takes place, some sort of blurring of personal boundaries" (162). See also Linda Wagner-Martin 166–69 and especially the essays in *The Challenge of Feminist Biography* regarding the question of what further dimensions are added to the relation between writer and subject when a woman is writing about another woman (Alpern et al.).

7. Manfred Pfister continues "[f]rom this it should be clear that the aim . . . is not to demonstrate how particular isolated units occur in individual sections of a text, but to expose certain processes in the way they constantly overlap or are superimposed on one another" (186).

8. When I use the term biographer, it should be understood that I refer to the creation of the biographer-persona in the text.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

9. This has been exemplified in the context of empirical literary theory; see, for instance, Vera Nünning.
10. Elbaz explains: "Indeed, autobiography is a discourse not about the 'I' but about a series of 'he's' [sic], because a 'he' does not conform to the mystified consistency and continuity of the 'I': the narrative is made up of a multiplicity of personae. The narrative is always a 'third person' phenomenon" (11). Banner also talks about writing a biographical autobiography, or an auto/biography (163).
11. My idea of coincidence differs from Anna K. Kuhn's suggestion that we treat biography as a subcategory of autobiography (13). I see no need for a hierarchy of genres in this context.
12. See Carol Hanberry McKay 79. Marilyn Yalom emphasizes these aspects especially in women's writing, when no other means of self-assertion, etc. were available to women (63).
13. Siebenschuh (139), Nadel (170–75), and Wagner-Martin (166) have explicitly noted an analogy between the biographer-persona and the narrator in fiction.
14. For more examples, see 60, 150, 211, 264, 283, 305, 334, 353, 379, 428, 434, 477, 526.
15. For example: "I remember Miss Brontë once telling me" (61); "when Miss Brontë told me the tale" (92); "I have heard Charlotte say" (199).
16. Consider also the following: "As to the rest, the letters speak for themselves, to those who know how to listen, far better than I can interpret their meaning into my poorer and weaker words" (328). Here we can see how the reflexive comment also has appellative-phatic functions; "those who know how to listen" clearly demarcates the readership and again is flattering to those who feel addressed.
17. Similar explanations can be found on 114, 120, 128, 131, 141, 182, 187, 208, etc.
18. Examples abound: "I do not know" (97); "which I find great difficulty in treating" (98); "I can hardly understand" (100); "but I do not know" (111); "I doubt whether" (182); "I am not aware for what reason" (196).
19. Her loopholes, however, did not save Gaskell from numerous complaints about her infringement on privacy and a threatened lawsuit by Mrs. Robinson, which lead Gaskell to rewrite some sections for the third edition of the biography.
20. Gaskell's strategy of assimilating information often cannot help but affirm what she is trying to downplay. Elsie B. Michie has noted this with regard to Charlotte's Irish ancestry. Michie explains that Gaskell ends up asserting Charlotte's father's "racial difference from the English at the moment she attempts to deny it" (57): "Mr Brontë has now no trace of his Irish origin remaining in his speech; he never could have shown his Celtic descent in the straight Greek lines and long oval of his face" (*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* 78).
21. Note Angus Easson's critical view of the biographer's projections (*Elizabeth Gaskell* 132).
22. See, for instance, Bell Gale Chevigny 358 and Blanche Wiesen Cook 398. The "advantage of sympathy" quotation is from Easson, "Domestic Romanticism" 174.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

23. Gaskell writes: "Charlotte Brontë's existence becomes divided into two parallel currents—her life as Currer Bell, the author; her life as Charlotte Brontë, the woman. There were separate duties belonging to each character—not opposing each other; not impossible, but difficult to be reconciled" (334).
24. For discussions of the biographer's interest in the disparity between woman and writer, see Bick 35–37; Bonaparte, especially 241–53; Nadel 121–30; and Stoneman 21–44.
25. In this context, consider the persona's note that even Charlotte "might have been apt, to the last, to take her deep belief in facts for the facts themselves—her conception of truth for the absolute truth" (98).

WORKS CITED

Abbot, H. Porter. "Autobiography, Autography, Fiction: Groundwork for a Taxonomy of Textual Categories." *New Literary History* 19.3 (Spring 1988): 597–615.

Alpern, Sara, Joyce Antler, Elisabeth Israels Perry, and Ingrid Winther Scobie, eds. *The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992.

Amigoni, David. *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.

Ascher, Carol, Louise DeSalva, and Sara Ruddick, eds. *Between Women: Biographers, Novelists, Critics, Teachers and Artists Write about Their Work on Women.* Boston: Beacon Hill, 1984.

Banner, Lois W. "Biography and Autobiography: Intermixing of Genres." *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 8.2 (1993): 159–78.

Bell, Susan Groag, and Marilyn Yalom, eds. *Revealing Lives: Autobiography, Biography, and Gender.* Albany: State U of New York P, 1990.

Bick, Suzann. "Clouding the 'Severe Truth': Elizabeth Gaskell's Strategy in *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.*" *Essays in Arts and Science* 11 (1982): 33–47.

Bonaparte, Felicia. *The Gypsy-Bachelor of Manchester: The Life of Mrs. Gaskell's Demon.* Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1992.

Chevigny, Bell Gale. "Daughters Writing." Ascher, DeSalva, and Ruddick. 357–79.

Cook, Blanche Wiesen. "Biographer and Subject: A Critical Connection." Ascher, DeSalva, and Ruddick. 397–411.

Corbett, Mary Jean. *Representing Femininity: Middle-Class Subjectivity in Victorian and Edwardian Women's Autobiographies.* New York: Oxford UP, 1992.

Easson, Angus. "Domestic Romanticism: Elizabeth Gaskell and *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.*" *Durham University Journal* 1981: 169–76.

———. *Elizabeth Gaskell.* London: Routledge, 1979.

Elbaz, Robert. *The Changing Nature of the Self: A Critical Study of the Autobiographical Discourse.* London: Croom Helm, 1988.

Epstein, William H. *Recognizing Biography.* Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1987.

Frank, Katherine. "Writing Lives: Theory and Practice in Literary Biography." *Genre* 13 (Winter 1980): 499–516.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gaskell, Elizabeth. *The Life of Charlotte Brontë.* 1857. Ed. Alan Shelston. London: Penguin, 1975.

Glasersfeld, Ernst von. "Facts and the self from a constructivist point of view." *Poetics* 18 (1989): 435–48.

Glendinning, Victoria. "The Truth about Biography." *Brick* 41 (1991): 4–9.

Kendall, Paul Murray. *The Art of Biography.* New York: Norton, 1965.

Kuhn, Anna K. "The 'Failure' of Biography and the Triumph of Women's Writing: Bettina von Arnim's *Die Günderode* and Christa Wolf's *The Quest for Christa T.*" Bell and Yalom. 13–28.

McKay, Carol Hanberry. "Biography as Reflected Autobiography: The Self-Creation of Anne Thackeray Ritchie." Bell and Yalom. 65–79.

Michie, Elsie B. *Outside the Pale: Cultural Exclusion, Gender Difference, and the Victorian Woman Writer.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993.

Middlebrook, Diane Wood. "Postmodernism and the Biographer." Bell and Yalom. 155–65.

Nadel, Ira Bruce. *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form.* London: Macmillan, 1984.

Nünning, Ansgar. *Grundzüge eines kommunikationstheoretischen Modells der erzählerischen Vermittlung. Die Funktionen der Erzählinstanz in den Romanen George Eliots.* Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1989.

Nünning, Vera. "Voraussetzungssystem und Produktionshandlungen Virginia Woolfs am Beispiel von *Orlando.*" *SPIEL* 7.2 (1988): 347–72.

Pfister, Manfred. *The Theory and Analysis of Drama.* Tr. John Halliday. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.

Schabert, Ina. "Fictional Biography, Factual Biography, and Their Contaminations." *Biography* 5.1 (Winter 1982): 1–16.

Schmidt, Siegfried J. "Der Radikale Konstruktivismus: Ein neues Paradigma im interdisziplinären Diskurs." *Der Diskurs des Radikalen Konstruktivismus.* Ed. Siegfried J. Schmidt. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987. 11–88.

———. "The Logic of Observation: An Introduction to Constructivism." *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 19.3 (September 1992): 295–311.

———. "On the Construction of Fiction and the Invention of Facts." *Poetics* 18 (1989): 319–35.

———. "Past: Notes on Memory and Narration." *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 7.2 (1989): 191–202.

Shelston, Alan. *Biography.* London: Methuen, 1977.

Siebenschuh, William R. *Fictional Techniques and Factual Works.* Athens: U of Georgia P, 1983.

Snipes, Wilson. "Authorial Typology in Literary Biography." *Biography* 13.3 (Summer 1990): 235–50.

Stanley, Liz. *The auto/biographical I: the theory and practice of feminist auto/biography.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992.

Sternberg, Meir. "Proteus in Quotation-Land: Mimesis and the Forms of Reported Discourse." *Poetics Today* 3.2 (Spring 1982): 107–56.

Stoneman, Patsy. *Elizabeth Gaskell.* Brighton: Harvester, 1987.

Wagner-Martin, Linda. *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography.* New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Watson, Julia, and Sidonie Smith. "De/Colonization and the Politics of Discourse in Women's Autobiographical Practices." *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography.* Ed. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1992. xiii–xxxi.

Watzlawick, Paul, ed. *The Invented Reality.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Yalom, Marilyn. "Biography as Autobiography: Adele Hugo, Witness of Her Husband's Life." Bell and Yalom. 53–63.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PHYLLIS E. WACHTER

Bibliography of Works About Life-Writing

361
Because the story of our life
becomes our life
Because each of us tells
the same story
but tells it differently
and none of us tells it
the same way twice. . . . "
Lisel Mueller, "Why We Tell Stories"

"Group consciousness, the sense of having one's individual identity inextricably bound to a community's identity, is essential to the formation and representation of an individual life story."

Nancy K. Miller on Susan Stanford Friedman

This year's bibliography reveals that people are making use of a wide range of life-writing mediums including journals, music, photography, portraiture, and architecture. Regardless of the medium, autobiographies tell us that their subjects are all struggling with a variety of issues involving moral dilemmas, matters of faith and doubt, gender, race, ethnicity, teaching and learning,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

psychological problems, illness, aging, and sexual identity. Although the personal narrative is important in the search for self, we need to seek out those political, familial, cultural, and mythic connections that unite us through "collective biography." As the line between autobiography and biography continues to blur, we need to invent a discourse which mediates the chasm of difference that separates the self from every other. With the twenty-first century poised between the despair of "1984" and the promise of the "global village," we need to value the worth of those stories we often fail to hear as well as rediscover our best selves within the stories we want to share.

BOOKS

Andrews, William L., ed. *African American Autobiography: A Collection of Critical Essays.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993. Promotes a critical dialogue about African American selfhood as well as the community of historical precedents, social identifications, and literary-cultural traditions that constitutes it.

Ashley, Kathleen, Leigh Gilmore, and Gerald Peters, eds. *Autobiography & Postmodernism.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1994. Views autobiography and other forms of self-representation through a postmodernist lens as sites of identity production and as texts that both resist and produce cultural identities.

Avedon, Richard. *An Autobiography.* New York: Random House, 1993. Tells the story of a famous photographer through the collected images of an "image-maker."

Barbour, John D. *The Conscience of the Autobiographer: Ethical and Religious Dimensions of Autobiography.* New York: St. Martin's, 1992. Traces the underlying moral and theological themes in the writings of authors such as Malcolm X and Mary McCarthy.

———. *Versions of Deconversion: Autobiography and the Loss of Faith.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1994. Examines the reasons for which autobiographers have rejected their religious views and analyzes the different ways in which they have interpreted a loss of faith.

Batchelor, John, ed. *The Art of Literary Biography.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1995. Most of the essays are selected from the Newcastle conference on "The Art of Literary Biography," which was held from 1 to 3 April 1993.

Bell-Scott, Patricia, ed. *Life Notes: Personal Writings by Contemporary Black Women.* New York: Norton, 1994. Represents the first collection devoted exclusively to writings from the journals, diaries, and personal notebooks of contemporary black women.

Braham, Jeanne. *Crucial Conversations: Interpreting Contemporary American Literary Autobiographies by Women.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia U, 1995. Focuses on late twentieth-century American writers, many of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

whom are poets, who view the sharing of their stories as an important part of their literary mandate.

Brilliant, Richard. *Portraiture.* London: Reaktion, 1991. Represents the first general and theoretical study devoted entirely to portraiture, drawing on a broad range of images from antiquity to the twentieth century.

Brucan, Silviu. *The Wasted Generation: Memoirs of the Romanian Journey from Capitalism to Socialism and Back.* Boulder: Westview, 1993. A memoir whose perimeters demarcate a period of political unrest.

Christianson, Gale E. *Writing Lives is the Devil! Essays of a Biographer at Work.* Hamden, CT: Archon, 1993. Speaks to the problems and issues faced by the biographer in the process of creating a biography.

de Mijolla, Elizabeth. *Autobiographical Quests: Augustine, Montaigne, Rousseau, and Wordsworth.* Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1994. Explores the assumption that "between mimesis and memory, tradition and the individual, compromise often begins with a choice of hero—pilgrim, quester, artist, other—as autobiographical alter ego."

Ellis, David, ed. *Imitating Art: Essays in Biography.* London: Pluto, 1993. Examines the "epistemologically diverse" nature of biography as seen in terms of the biographer's disciplinary interests and intellectual agenda.

Etter-Lewis, Gwendolyn. *My Soul is My Own: Oral Narratives of African American Women in the Professions.* New York: Routledge, 1993. Presents the lives of early twentieth-century African American women in their own words describing their home, university, and work experiences in the face of rejection on the basis of their gender and race.

Folkenflik, Robert, ed. *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993. Provides contemporary perspectives for the reading and understanding of autobiography through a recognition of its social construction and cultural conditioning.

Franklin, V. P. *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African-American Intellectual Tradition.* New York: Scribners, 1995. Investigates the autobiographies of African-American artists, scholars, and leaders in order to seek answers to the question "Why are we here."

Fuller, Jamie. *The Diary of Emily Dickinson.* San Francisco: Mercury House, 1993. Fuller attempts to offer an imaginary extension of Emily Dickinson's original work.

Glass, James M. *Shattered Selves: Multiple Personality in a Post-Modern World.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993. Exposes the limitations of postmodernist thought by examining the first-person narratives of women institutionalized with multiple personality disorders.

Goodson, Ivor F., ed. *Studying Teachers' Lives.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia U, 1992. Examines the background and personal experiences of teachers and the direct and indirect influences their situations have on their lives and work.

Goodwin, James. *Autobiography: The Self Made Text.* New York: Twayne, 1993. Closely studies autobiographical texts from American and French literature to explore common national themes and concerns.

Grubgeld, Elizabeth. *George Moore and the Autogenous Self: The Autobiography and Fiction.* Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1994. Investigates the multifarious sub-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

structures and their relation to the construction of the autobiographical speaker within Moore's autobiographical texts.

Hayter, Alethea, ed. *The Backbone: Diaries of a Military Family in the Napoleonic Wars.* Edinburgh: Pentland, 1993. Traces a family whose loyal and brave deeds comprised the "backbone" of their countries' armed forces.

Hodgson, John. *The Search for the Self: Childhood in Autobiography and Fiction since 1940.* Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic P, 1993. Surveying a wide range of postwar texts, Hodgson argues that writers of autobiography and autobiographical fiction are engaged in an existential quest for the self.

Kenyon, Olga. *800 Years of Women's Letters.* Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992. Features a previously ignored genre of female writing in an attempt to show that women's letters can be considered a great art form.

Krupat, Arnold, ed. *Native American Autobiography: An Anthology.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1994. Represents the first comprehensive collection of Native American life stories.

Larson, Wendy. *Literary Authority and the Modern Chinese Writer: Ambivalence and Autobiography.* Durham: Duke UP, 1991. Asks how writers define the "self" and the "work" of a writer in the period immediately following the May Fourth Movement, approximately from 1925 to 1935.

Machann, Clinton. *The Genre of Autobiography in Victorian Literature.* Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1994. Studies eleven autobiographies by British writers who lived their adult lives and published their principal works during the Victorian era.

Manea, Norman. *Compulsory Happiness.* Trans. Linda Coverdale. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1993. In "Composite Biography," (one of four stories set in Romania), the Director of the Institute of Futurology conducts a series of group sessions in which the lives of the group members are gradually revealed.

Marcus, Laura. *Auto/Biographical Discourses: Theory, Criticism, Practice.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1994. Shows how life-writing has been crucial in debates over subject and object, public and private, fact and fiction—debates which are refigured in feminist theory.

Nalbantian, Suzanne. *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Anais Nin.* New York: St. Martin's, 1994. Delves into autobiographical writing as it was developed by a cluster of modernist novelists in order to ask how can one isolate such a group and derive paradigms from it.

Neuman, Shirley, ed. *Autobiography and Questions of Gender.* London: Frank Cass, 1991. Aims to extend the work of earlier scholars by continuing to expand the autobiographical canon through rethinking earlier exclusions affected by constructions of gender and by rereading the canon in terms self-conscious of the effects of such constructions.

Neumayr, Anton. *Music and Medicine: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert—Notes on Their Lives, Works, and Medical Histories.* Trans. Bruce Cooper Clarke. Bloomington: Medi-Ed P, 1994. Sets standards for biography and pathography by discussing the interplay of health and disease in the lives of the four composers.

Noonan, James, ed. *Biography and Autobiography: Essays on Irish and Canadian*

CC-0.In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

History and Literature. Ottawa: Carleton UP, 1993. Presents some of the papers from a 1991 conference of the Canadian Association for Irish Studies which explored both theoretical and concrete approaches to life-writing.

O'Connor, Ulick. *Biographers and the Art of Biography.* London: Quartet, 1991. Investigates two key elements of biography—"collecting" all the available information to chronicle the life and "selecting" particular facts to create the portrait.

Owings, Alison. *Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich.* New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1993. Features the memoirs of Third Reich German women, all of whom had different experiences and made different decisions, pointing up the diversity of any collective biography.

Padilla, Genaro M. *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1993. Attempts to reconstruct both the social conditions shaping personal experience and the constraints that shape autobiographical narrative.

Pagan, Nicholas. *Rethinking Literary Biography: A Postmodern Approach to Tennessee Williams.* Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1993. Proposes a revisioning of literary biography in line with Continental critical theory by offering a study of the relationship between Williams and his texts.

Rintoul, M. C. *Dictionary of Real People and Places in Fiction.* London: Routledge, 1992. Presents more than 4,000 identifications, laying bare some of the facts behind the fiction and shedding light on various aspects of social and cultural history.

Rollyson, Carl. *Biography: An Annotated Bibliography.* Pasadena: Salem, 1992. This is the first bibliography to organize and annotate literature on biography, featuring items which are in English and have been published in the United States.

Russell, Ina, ed. *Jeb and Dash: A Diary of Gay Life, 1918–1945.* Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993. The diarist's niece offers selections from the fifty-volume diary kept by "Jeb Alexander," a pseudonym for a gay man who lived from 1899 to 1965.

Sayre, Robert, ed. *American Lives: An Anthology of Autobiographical Writing.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1994. Approaches American autobiography from an historical perspective in order to help fill the need for college life-writing texts.

Shorris, Earl. *Latinos: A Biography of the People.* New York: Norton, 1992. Using a biographical method, the book proceeds to tell the lives of individuals and families, enabling the reader to meet Latinos with very little authorial interference.

Stanley, Liz. *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1992. The theoretical writings of a current editor of *Auto/Biography,* a periodical published under the auspices of the Sociology Department of the University of Manchester.

Stull, James N. *Literary Selves: Autobiography and Contemporary American Nonfiction.* Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993. Appraises the collected works of a group of literary journalists who began writing nonfiction in the 1960s while focusing on the relationship of the self to the outside world.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sturrock, John. *The Language of Autobiography: Studies in the First Person Singular.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. Analyses the means by which more than twenty literary autobiographers have gone about their task, concentrating on the productive tension between the writer's will to singularity and the autobiographical act itself.

Wagner-Martin, Linda. *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography.* New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994. Explores the power structures and unspoken personal investments that define biography as a genre and as a cultural institution.

Wood, Mary Elene. *The Writing on the Wall: Women's Autobiography and the Asylum.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1994. Focuses on autobiographies which reflect how women institutionalized as insane structured narratives for public consumption in which they attempted to convince a skeptical audience of their sanity.

Yalom, Marilyn. *Blood Sisters: The French Revolution in Women's Memory.* New York: Basic, 1993. One of Yalom's aims is to provide an annotated bibliography of the entire published corpus of women's French Revolution memoirs, listing more than eighty, with brief biographies and summaries of their work.

Zuckerman, Michael. *Almost Chosen People: Oblique Biographies in the American Grain.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1993. Features unconventional readings of very conventional subjects to show that paragons of orthodoxy are far more subtle and even subversive than most people allow.

DISSERTATIONS

A bibliography of recent dissertations on life-writing will appear in a subsequent issue.

PERIODICALS, ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS

Andrews, William L. "Richard Wright and the African-American Autobiography Tradition," *Style* 27.2 (Summer 1993): 271–84. Studies the relationship between autobiographical acts and truthfulness.

a/b Auto/Biography Studies. Vols 9.1 & 2 (1994). *a/b* is published by the Autobiographical Society at the University of Kansas.

Auto/Biography. Bulletin of the British Sociological Association on Auto/Biography. Vols. 3.1 & 2 (1994). Sociology Department, Manchester University.

Barrett, Jackie. "Multiple Sclerosis: The Experience of a Disease." *Women's Studies International Forum* 18.2 (1995): 159–71. Utilizes autobiography, biography, and feminist methodology to explore the meaning of the diagnosis of a disabling disease for a young woman.

Bergmann, Bettina. "The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii." *The Art Bulletin* 76.2 (June 1994): 225–56. Discusses how a Roman's house was perceived as an extension of the self, signaling social and genealogical status to the world.

Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly. Vol. 17 (1994). Articles published in 1994 are listed in the Index of this issue.

Bosco, Ronald. "'What Poems Are Many Private Lives': Emerson Writing the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

American Plutarch." *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 27.1 (Spring 1994): 103–28. Notes that Emerson's ambition to write biography occurs throughout his early journals, often in conjunction with his reading of history.

Bowles, Gloria. "Going Back through My Journals: The Unsettled Self, 1961–1986." *NWSA Journal* 6.2 (Summer 1994): 255–75. Discusses the process of journal keeping for one feminist woman, followed by selections from her diary.

Breslin, James E. B. "Terminating Mark Rothko: Biography is Mourning in Reverse." *New York Times Book Review* 24 July 1994: 3, 19–20. According to Breslin, "in mourning the dead person is taken inside in order to be preserved as an image and let go as a person whereas in biography a person (usually dead) is brought inside in order to be preserved outside."

Burt, Christopher D. B. "An Analysis of a Self-Initiated Coping Behavior: Diary-Keeping." *Child Study Journal* 24.3 (1994): 171–89. Examines the "behavior" of diary-keeping in two surveys of university students.

CEA Critic 57.1 (Fall 1994). Special issue on "Re-evaluating the Boundaries of Autobiography."

Crant, Phillip A. "Autobiography and Interview." *Language Quarterly* 32.1–2 (Summer 1994): 75–82. Focuses on the complementary natures of autobiography with specific reference to two contemporary authors, Hervé Bazin and Michel Tournier.

Doubrovsky, Serge. "Autobiography/Truth/Psychoanalysis." *Genre: Forms of Discourse and Culture* 26.1 (Spring 1993): 27–42. Discusses how scholars often must untangle the threads connecting autobiography/fiction/analysis/critique/biography.

Egan, Susanna. "*The Book of Jessica:* The Healing Circle of a Woman's Autobiography." *Canadian Literature/Littérature canadienne* 144 (Spring 1995): 10–26. Investigates a Canadian theatre piece which raises important questions concerning the ongoing struggle relating life to text and genre to life-writing.

Eisenhart, Margaret. "The Fax, the Jazz Player, and the Self-Story Teller: How Do People Organize Culture?" *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 26.1 (March 1995): 3–26. Suggests that one means by which individuals organize culture is through the "stories of self" that they express or enact when they join new social settings.

FitzGerald, Susan. "Searching Family Trees for Medical Problems: Genetic Studies Make Past More Relevant to Your Future Health." *Philadelphia Inquirer* 30 October 1994: A1, 12. Using genealogical methodology, you can learn more about your medical future by discovering what ailed your relatives in the past.

Franke, Robert G. "Beyond Good Doctor, Bad Doctor: AIDS Fiction and Biography as a Developing Genre." *Journal of Popular Culture* 27.3 (Winter 1993): 93–101. Posits that a new genre may be rising whose role is to acknowledge the failure of the scientific/technological view to support the complex physical and emotional demands imposed by the disease.

Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 15.2 (1994). Entire issue devoted to "Autobiography and Subjectivity: Constructing the Self."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gannett, Cinthia. "Unlocking the Journal: Response and Responsibility." *NWSA Journal* 6.2 (Summer 1994): 276–90. According to Gannett, to be "unlocked" is the concept of viewing the journal or diary as part of the larger, ongoing feminist project of liberating the traditional discursive practices of women.

Goedeken, Edward A. "'The Rainbow Survivors of Some Vanished Grey Moment of Reality': A Prosopographical Study of the *Dictionary of American Library Biography* and Its *Supplement*." *Libraries & Culture* 30.2 (Spring 1995): 153–69. This prosopographical or collective biographical study investigates the entries in the *Dictionary* and its *Supplement*.

Hancock, Marjorie R. "Character Journals: Initiating Involvement and Identification Through Literature." *Journal of Reading* 37.1 (September 1993): 42–50. Describes the process of having eighth-grade students keep a journal of characters from their reading in order to gain greater self-understanding.

Humez, Jean M. "In Search of Harriet Tubman's Spiritual Autobiography." *NWSA Journal* 5.2 (Summer 1993): 162–82. Examines the life-writing genre of the "mediated" autobiographical text, or narrative based on the oral testimony of a person or group as written down by another.

Kaplan, Justin. "A Culture of Biography." *Yale Review* 82.4 (Fall 1994): 1–12. Comments on the Anglo-American phenomenon of the popular biography and/or celebiography.

Maxwell, William. "What He Was Like." *Parabola* 20.2 (May 1995): 61–63. Describes reading a deceased person's diaries only to discover he wasn't the person everyone thought he was.

McHugh, Paul R. "What's the Story?" *American Scholar* 64.2 (Spring 1995): 191–203. Psychiatrists' interpretations of their patients' autobiographical accounts should not be the only sources of diagnosis, especially when doctors often impose their own interests and obsessions onto their patients' stories.

Merricks, Linda. "An Invisible Man: On Writing Biography." *History Workshop Journal* 37 (Spring 1994): 194–204. Exploring subjects' professional and social failures is viewed as an alternative to documenting their biographical successes.

Mfs 40.3 (Fall 1994). The entire issue focuses on "Autobiography, Photography, Narrative."

Miller, Nancy K. "Representing Others: Gender and the Subjects of Autobiography." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 6.1 (Spring 1994): 1–27. Explores feminist group consciousness, collective biography, and autobiographical practice.

Miller, R. Baxter. "The Performance of African-American Autobiography." *Style* 27.2 (Summer 1993): 285–99. Discusses lifting the autobiographical script beyond time in order to get at an interpretation of a life that transcends historical limitations.

Mize, Leslye King. "Ritual Experience and Its Emergence With Story: An Experience in Meaning." *Contemporary Family Therapy* 17.1 (March 1995): 109–125. Investigates 36 women's stories of their families of origin to show how these may have had impact on their current sense of affiliation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and meaning.

Oyegoke, Lekan. "'Sade's Testimony': A New Genre of Autobiography in African Folklore." *Research in African Literatures* 25.3 (Fall 1994): 131–40. Explores the spiritual and entertaining facets of oral Christian testimony.

Polak, Maralyn Lois. "Karen Armstrong: God's Biographer." *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine* 13 November 1994: 9–10. In an interview, Armstrong discusses her book entitled *A History of God,* which she says is more "God's story" than her own "spiritual autobiography."

Prain, Vaughan. "Helping Students Identify How Writers Signal Purpose in Autobiographical Writing." *Journal of Reading* 38.6 (March 1995): 476–81. Reports on some teaching strategies that have been used to strengthen students' understanding of how autobiographical writers signal specific purposes.

Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism. 17.1 (April 1994). Special issue on "U.S. Personal Narratives and the Subject of Multiculturalism."

Ray, Sangeeta. "Memory, Identity, Patriarchy: Projecting a Past in the Memoirs of Sara Suleri and Michael Ondaatje." *Mfs* 39.1 (Spring 1993): 37–58. How autobiography offers a cultural point of view which is important for better understanding the social and political collective mentality of a nation.

Sehulster, Jerome R. "Memory Styles and Related Abilities in Presentation of Self." *American Journal of Psychology* 108.1 (Spring 1995): 67–88. Defines "memory style" as a combination of a subject's (perceived) ability in verbal memory, autobiographical memory, and prospective memory.

Stalfa, Frank J. "Vocation as Autobiography: Family of Origin Influences on the Caregiving Role in Ministry." *Journal of Pastoral Care* 48.4 (Winter 1994): 370–80. Presents those dynamics of family life which are understood to influence the decision to enter a helping profession.

Temple, Bogusia. "Constructing Polishness, Researching Polish Women's Lives: Feminist Auto/Biographical Accounts." *Women's Studies International Forum* 17.1 (1994): 47–55. Argues that recent feminist literature on autobiography raises important epistemological questions for researchers writing about lives using a broad life-history approach.

Thorne, Avril. "Developmental Truths in Memories of Childhood and Adolescence." *Journal of Personality* 63.2 (June 1995): 139–63. Studies age-related changes in memories of personally important encounters in order to examine "developmental truths."

Tuttleton, James W. "Margaret Fuller, the American Minerva." *New Criterion* 13.6 (February 1995): 24–29. Discusses the qualities of personhood which cannot always be captured in an individual's writings or in a biography about that individual.

Wertime, Richard A. "The Landscape Genius." *Archaeology* 46.3 (May 1993): 50–55. Shows how archaeology has deepened our understanding of Jefferson and his time.

Worthen, John. "Orts and Slarts: Two Autobiographical Pieces on D. H. Lawrence." *Review of English Studies* 46.181 (February 1995): 26–40. Explores a biographer's need to revise his or her own biographical work.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviews

LINDA WAGNER-MARTIN. *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography.* New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994. xiii + 201 pp. 13 b & w illus. Cloth, $22.95.

The eminence of Linda Wagner-Martin's book lies in its wide-ranging reading of English and American biographies about and by women. *Telling Women's Lives* starts with the premise that marketplace surveys since the early 1980s show women readers are the buyers of sixty percent of the biographies and autobiographies sold, yet comparatively few biographies of women are marketed (21). This book is about how the intellectual marketplace—what is published, reviewed, stocked, and ultimately purchased—controls the stories of women's lives. Typical of the book's interesting glimpses into the production of biography is its commentary on the relative sales value of "authorized" and "unauthorized" biographies of celebrities, and their use of the book-jacket proclamation "an unauthorized biography" as a strategy for attracting readers in which the allure of the unauthorized is a promise of more daring revelations (152).

While the strength of this book lies in its bringing together many modern biographies and autobiographies of women, it has made the decision to chiefly omit the larger historical context. It would have been extremely interesting to have the discussion of modern biography studied in a tradition dating back to early women biographers such as Mary Hays's *Female Biography* (1803), Mary Shelley's contributions to *The Cabinet of Biography* (1835–39), Elizabeth Ellet's *Women of the American Revolution* (1848), and Sarah Josepha Hale's *Woman's Record* (1853)—a history of women biographers yet to be written. Theorizing about biography, like the theory of any other genre, is best grounded in a wide historical panorama. The book's assertion that "most assume that *biography* means an adulatory recounting of events" (30), while true for some readers, disregards centuries of complaints that biographers tarnish the reputations of their subjects by prying. Likewise, the book chooses to assert that "modern biography in the English-speaking world began with Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1791" (1), without investigating preceding landmarks in biographical methodology.

Telling Women's Lives seeks to identify and explain the differences between biographies about men and about women. In some ways, the situation of women's biography is unique. But even as the book discusses women's biography in isolation, it militates for the need to place women's writings in the context of men's. Many biographical matters here treated as women's concerns (issues such as the suppression of scandal and the identification of biographer and subject) are biographical universalities. The discussion of how the biographies of professional women are controlled by surviving husbands is quite interesting—though one might conversely cite the biographical surveillance exerted over the male poet T. S. Eliot's estate. Similarly, the book is quite imaginative on the serial autobiographies of Lillian Hellman—though they are not without antecedents in, for example, Frederick Douglass and Thomas De Quincey. The book suggests that readers may be troubled by the "attention paid to biological processes" in women's biographies (11)—though one might be equally troubled by the deterministic notion implicit here that somehow attention need be paid to female rather than male biological processes.

Telling Women's Lives posits Nancy Milford's *Zelda* (1970) as a turning point in the way readers saw the wife of F. Scott Fitzgerald: "the model for contemporary women's biography" (135). The book spends considerable time on biographies of wives, with particularly interesting discussions of Nora Barnacle and James Joyce, and Hadley Richardson and Ernest Hemingway. Yet what do such biographies tell us about women's place and the valorization of the familiar family genre of women's biography? Indeed, why should we assume the spouses of famous men are intrinsically interesting subjects of biography, any more, for example, than we might assume the life of William Siddons, husband of the early nineteenth-century (and much biographied) actress Sarah Siddons, would merit an independent biography?

Conversely, the book observes that biographers have an excessive "paternalistic" interest in prominent fathers (22), citing the cases of Virginia Woolf and Louisa May Alcott. But is there not a legitimate interest in the public and paternal role of Leslie Stephen and Bronson Alcott? Why should we not be interested in the influence of Henry VIII and William Godwin, the fathers of Elizabeth I and Mary Shelley (or, for that matter, their mothers Anne Boleyn and Mary Wollstonecraft as well), in a way that we are not interested in, say, the parents of Jane Austen or Alexander Pope? Yet even as the words are uttered, one thinks of an abundance of curiosities in comparing the children of prominent and unsung parents.

An editorial decision has been made to divide the book into very small fragments, and it is a pity its segments are so short because, although the divisions make the topics readily legible, their briefness does not always allow the author time to develop them. One topic on which the book is particularly interesting is that of "avoiding stereotypical responses." The book rightly applauds the demise of the maternal and wifely hagiography that once dominated women's biography. Wagner-Martin cautions, however, that other platitudinous approaches to women remain: "women writers who have lived more traditional womanly lives fare better than their troublesome sisters" (23).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Especially fascinating is this book's analysis of atypical photographs of famous women—a risque Eleanor Roosevelt, a familial Gertrude Stein dandling her nephew on her knee, a flight-suited Anne Morrow Lindbergh as copilot for her husband. Wagner-Martin shows how these photographs revise the usual restrictive images of these women, stock images that reinforce the cliches and preconceptions that hobble biographers as they approach a subject.

One of the objectives in studying women of the past—and present—is to discover inspiring precursors. Yet a new biographical pitfall has supplanted the hagiographic maternal and wifely platitudes of the past, the temptation to see all women's lives as feminist narratives, to find in every female biography a paradigm of feminist achievement. As feminist biographers, critics, and historians, we naturally want to locate a perfect map, a feminist profile of personal discovery and affirmation wherever we can find it, but we must also avoid taking procrustean steps to deliver this model, rather than face the unwelcome news that not every famous woman has the feminist commitments we might wish to discover. Indeed, the stories of women who turned coat, who opposed feminist initiatives, who neglected other women, who want to remain the only woman in the boardroom, have lessons to teach us as well, albeit harsh ones. Reading biography is one way of reminding us of the long road to reform.

ANNETTE WHEELER CAFARELLI
Columbia University

MICHAEL SEAN MAHONEY, *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat, 1601–1665.* 2d edition. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994. xx + 432 pp. $18.95 paperback.

A complete biography of Fermat would include details of his personal and professional life, along with his mathematical career. This book focuses on the latter aspect, yet so much is included of his background and administrative career that one must regard this work as definitive.

Mahoney is Professor of History at Princeton. The first edition (1973) represented five years of work at the beginning of his career. This edition incorporates corrections, results from more modern literature, and his own research in later years.

A modern academic, reading Mahoney's biography of Fermat, would be struck by the thin network of numerical practitioners in the seventeenth century, and the lack of publication outlets. Indeed, our modern apparatus of scholarly communication had not yet been invented, or was in its raw infancy. This sets in perspective the intriguing task faced by Mahoney: how to show the brilliance of Fermat's thinking, the rather quick pace of dissemination of Fermat's results in the face of his reluctance to publish, and the necessity of inventing equations that would make Greek and Arab discoveries and conjectures usable by his correspondents.

Fermat is best known by today's layman for his "Last Theorem," written in the margin of a book, saying that he did not have enough room to show a *truly marvelous demonstration* that what any schoolboy knows as the Pythagorean theorem on right triangles, $x^2 + y^2 = z^2$, had no solution except when the exponent was 2. Apart from that statement, Fermat created modern number theory (it was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ignored for many decades), was one of the inventors of analytic geometry, and unknowingly laid early foundations for differential and integral calculus. But Mahoney quite clearly states: "Fermat sought neither curves nor functions; he sought areas, and he found them. . . . He did not invent the calculus." Along with Pascal, he created certain theoretical guidelines for probability theory—and all this while being a shy and reclusive bureaucrat in Toulouse.

Born at the beginning of the century, Fermat enjoyed the advantage of wealth. He attended the university at Toulouse, graduated in law, and purchased the offices of *conseiller* and *commissaire* with the help of his wife's dowry. He was then able to add *de* to his name as a member of the *noblesse de robe*. One of his rare noted professional deeds was to help "organize the customary laws of his birthplace, Beaumont."

Mahoney first sketches the diversity of numerical efforts in the seventeenth century, in six categories: the classical geometers, to whom the young Fermat was sympathetic; the cossist algebraicists, who used Hindu-Arabic reckoning useful to the growing commercial class, and who preferred to write in the vernacular; the applied mathematicians, who were less loath than others to publish their results and methods; the mystics, devoted to magical astrology and other folderol; the artists and artisans, who were concerned with perspective and projective geometry; and the analysts, "latecomers to the mathematical scene," to whom the mature Fermat considered himself to belong. Mahoney notes that none of these groups had the university as their traditional seat of learning, and none had studied mathematics at their alma mater.

Nor was there any unity of origin among lovers of numbers. "Napier was a Scots baron; Tartaglia, the impoverished son of a post rider. Clavius was a high-ranking Jesuit; Cavalieri, a simple monk; Oughtred and Wallis, Protestant divines. Stevin was a military engineer; Hariot, an adventurer; Viète, a lawyer; Roberval, a university professor. Fermat and Descartes never had to worry about money; Galileo never had enough." Further, "There were no positions to be gained or held . . . no ladder of advancement . . . no single set of standards nor particular group of judges . . . no clear-cut arbiter. Nor, except for personal gratification, was there reward or sanction."

Fermat went to Bordeaux during his Toulouse university studies, to study under the followers of François Viète, who had died two years after Fermat was born. Viète was one of the first who "discerned algebra at the root of Greek geometry," yet Viète later dropped the name *algebra* altogether. Mahoney gives credit to Viète for creating "the first consciously articulated theory of equations." The six to seven years delay in Fermat's graduation is attributed to his long and enthusiastic study of the structure of Viète's equations, absorbing his system and "bewildering terminology." Fermat never quite outgrew "algebraic reasoning in geometric garb." Indeed he developed "an entirely new sort of mathematics under the guise of restoring an even more ancient one." Mahoney in several places mentions this "Janus-like" aspect of Fermat. And he notes that Fermat's number theory, the jewel of his later years, goes "back to that amazingly fruitful period of initial research in Bordeaux."

Enter now the Reverend Père Marin Mersenne, "France's walking scientific journal." Fermat's good friend, Pierre de Carcavi of Toulouse, went to Paris in 1636 as *bibliothécaire du Roi,* and mentioned Fermat's work to Mersenne. This was a mixed blessing, getting Fermat's work known to many other mathemati-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cians on the one hand, and owing to an innocent faith in Mersenne and his friends, causing great misunderstanding on the other. To appreciate what happened next, one must realize that the shy Fermat was a lone wolf, wrote to other mathematicians through Mersenne, and "could not shake loose from the problem-solver's habit of challenging others through specific problems." Fermat "preferred to let his correspondents wrestle with the problems before revealing his solutions and methods of solution. If he did not like controversy, he did enjoy intellectual combat."

René Descartes had written a manuscript on *Dioptrics,* which had been "recently submitted for licensing." Fermat's friend Jean Beaugrand was *sécrétaire du Roi,* and showed Fermat a copy. "Fermat did not know that Beaugrand had obtained the copy by highly questionable means and that he had the right neither to show the work to Fermat nor even to possess it himself." Fermat wrote critically of the work to Mersenne, who arranged for the letter to be shown to Descartes. Mahoney comments that throughout the *Dioptrics* affair "Mersenne showed a rare talent for making a bad situation worse."

Fermat and Descartes conducted their disagreement through letters to others, never corresponding directly until Descartes' last letter. In the series of letters to Mersenne, "Descartes spoke as one who had run down mathematics, conquered it, and eaten the lion's share; the rest he would leave to Fermat and the other hyenas." Finally, on 27 July 1638 Descartes wrote to Fermat: "...seeing the last method that you use for finding tangents to curved lines, I can reply to it in no other way than to say that it is very good and that, *if you had explained it in this manner at the outset,* I would not have contradicted at all" [my italics]. Fermat's secretiveness had done him in, and his naivete, his "little sense of the part personalities might play in a scientific debate," also was a drawback. He had criticized one of Descartes' *Essays* on the grounds that "we often find what we are seeking by groping about in the shadows (*à tâtons et parmi les ténèbres*)." And to Digby in England he wrote of Brouckner's failure to find a solution to a problem posed by Fermat: "no field can bear every crop." Mahoney says that in general, "Fermat possessed the rare talent for making an insult out of words of consolation."

Fermat's Last Theorem, "no cube can be split into two cubes, nor any biquadratic into two biquadratics, nor generally any power beyond the second into two of the same kind," has been shown to be true. Andrew Wiles spent seven years on its proof, which appeared in the May 1995 issue of *Annals of Mathematics.* Fermat is vindicated, and Mahoney is to be congratulated on writing a fine biography.

FORREST R. PITTS
Santa Rosa, California

CAROLYN L. KARCHER, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child.* Durham: Duke UP, 1994. 882 pp. $37.95.

Lydia Maria Child was a figure of tremendous significance for nineteenth-century reform, literature, and feminism. Hailed by contemporaries, including William Lloyd Garrison, as "the first woman in the republic," her reputation waned and her work lapsed into obscurity in the late nineteenth-century. Karcher's goal is to create a definitive "cultural biography" of Child, re-establishing her standing as a leading thinker, reformer, and writer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Clearly there is a need for such a biography. In addition to her voluminous correspondence, Child published close to fifty books and pamphlets, and as Karcher explained, "she pioneered almost every department of nineteenth-century American letters" (xiii), including the historical novel, children's books, domestic advice manuals, and antislavery tracts. Thoroughly researched and nicely written, this biography is a lengthy but compelling portrait of a complex and influential figure.

Karcher is critical of modern scholars for failing to give Child her due, arguing that her career does not fit easily into existing categories. Literary scholars have neglected Child, because unlike other women writers, she was ambitious and did not labor solely from financial necessity. Nor did her fiction focus exclusively on domestic themes. Feminist historians have failed to highlight Child because she placed a higher priority on antislavery work than women's rights. These arguments are insightful, and yet scores of important nineteenth-century women reformers await biographical study. Child's prodigious literary output as much as any other factor probably accounts for historians' previous reluctance to take on such a project. In her preface, Karcher acknowledges the debt she owes to Milton Meltzer and Patricia Holland, editors of the microfiche edition of Child's collected letters (Kraus Microform, 1980).

One of Karcher's central themes is that Child's attitudes toward Native Americans, African Americans, and women make her one of the most progressive reformers of her era. At a time when very few Americans were writing about Native Americans sympathetically, Child established her literary reputation by writing a novel called *Hobomok,* in which the title character marries a Puritan heroine. By the following decade, Child would become a leading critic of Cherokee removal to the trans-Mississippi West. Her feminist writing included essays, biographies, and a history of women.

Demonstrating a degree of versatility that would set her apart from many other writers of her generation, Child turned with ease and ability from literary and political topics to self-help books. Beginning with *The Frugal Housewife* in 1829 and followed by a succession of other "domestic advice" volumes, she addressed an audience in circumstances like her own, struggling to maintain a middle-class lifestyle but without the means to hire servants. Unlike the works of Catharine Beecher and others, her books did not "glorify homemaking and childrearing as women's highest vocation" (142). Again sensing an audience and a societal need, she began editing a literary magazine for children, tiled *Juvenile Miscellany,* a money-maker from its inception. At the end of her life, she wrote pamphlets about growing old gracefully.

Child's contributions to the antislavery cause would earn her both acclaim and notoriety, and Karcher probes this aspect of Child's career in great detail. Like so many others, Child was drawn to the abolition cause because of the influence of William Lloyd Garrison. In 1833 she wrote a 230-page tract entitled *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans.* Beginning with a history of slavery in worldwide perspective, Child proceeded to dispel notions about the economic ruin that Southerners feared would result from abolition, and offered a cogent refutation to colonization as a solution to the problem. "The distinctiveness of the Appeal lies not in the particular arguments it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

advances," Karcher writes, "but in its all-encompassing synthesis of facts and arguments from an unprecedented array of sources" (186). Its publication also helped to recruit some of the individuals who would become antislavery's strongest supporters, among them Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips. Child emerged from her experience having lost her Southern audience for fiction and self-help books but as a clear leader in the antislavery movement. During most of her career she would prefer to work independently rather than as part of organized antislavery, but Child remained a central figure in the abolition/civil rights movement throughout her life.

Another of Karcher's major themes is the nature of nineteenth-century marriage and Child's own unstable union. Devoted to her husband early in their marriage and sharing a passion for reform and especially antislavery activism, Child came to resent her husband, an idealist so lacking in pragmatism that she was forced to write domestic advice books to support them both. And yet unlike some of her contemporary abolitionist/feminists, Child could never bring herself to reject or leave her husband, even in the couple's darkest hours. The author attributes this to Child's need for love, writing that she "would never succeed in reconciling her craving for love with her need for self-fulfillment. Marriage remained the only acceptable channel through which a respectable woman of her era and culture could satisfy her yearning for heterosexual love" (296). Childless and isolated in a small rural home, the couple did achieve a degree of happiness at the end of their long lives.

Carolyn Karcher is to be commended for the overall fine quality of her research and writing. She demonstrates an impressive command of primary and secondary literature and does a thorough job reviewing and analyzing all of Child's important works, a challenging proposition given their number, length, and variety. She does an equally fine job placing this remarkable woman in the context of her era, although her repeated emphasis on the concept of a "cultural biography" seems redundant and certainly unnecessary. All good biographers place their subjects in the proper cultural context. While focusing on Child's many achievements, Karcher does not hesitate to pinpoint her shortcomings, notably her anti-Catholicism, a fault she shared with many other abolitionists. Most importantly, the author restores Child to the status that her illustrious career warrants. Future anthologies of writings by nineteenth-century women will be far more likely to include excerpts from her long-overlooked works.

This is a very long book. The text exceeds six hundred pages. Many of the chapters have 100 to 200 notes. The chronology at the beginning of the volume is seven pages long. Although Child's career justifies such meticulous treatment, one has to be very interested in her to read this book cover to cover. Because of this book's length, many readers will prefer Deborah Clifford's less immense but less complete biography, *Crusader for Freedom* (Beacon, 1992). Nonetheless, after reading this book, one cannot help but share Karcher's belief that Child is "an exceptionally rewarding subject" (610). In a public career that spanned fifty years, few writers produced more works on as wide a range of important topics as Lydia Maria Child.

WENDY HAMAND VENET
Georgia State University

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FRED K. PRIEBERG, *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich.* Translated by Christopher Dolan. Boston: Northeastern UP, 1994. 394 pp. $32.50.

Of all the provocative and exceptionally impressive conductors in the history of that flamboyant, unique, colorful, egocentric profession—and there are quite a few "tyrants," like Toscanini, Klemperer, and Karajan—the great German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886–1954) was certainly one of the most extreme cases, both in his personal, as well as in his professional, artistic life. There are many anecdotes to substantiate this: one need only look at the fourth chapter in Norman Lebrecht's fascinating *The Maestro Myth: Great Conductors in Pursuit of Power* (New York: Citadel, 1993) for a succinct and poignant characterization; moreover, notwithstanding some questionable license he exercised in the area of general moral and ethical acceptance then and today, there is kind of a "sacred" mystique associated with Furtwängler's very presence. A recent video release on laser disc (*The Art of Conducting: Great Conductors of the Past,* Teldec Classics International, 1994) has dramatically documented this phenomenon: an orchestra member recounts how the very entrance of Furtwängler into the room of a rehearsal actually changed the overall quality of the ongoing playing, while most of the orchestra did not even visibly realize that their director was in the room! The stupendous visual and aural impact of the selection on the same disc from Brahm's Fourth Symphony in E Minor with the Berlin Philharmonic in 1948 also dramatically demonstrates beyond any words what it was about Furtwängler that made magic happen!

Much has been written about Furtwängler—some two hundred bibliographical items, including articles—and it was not Fred Prieberg's intention "to restate what had been said elsewhere, a practical and undemanding method of selling the reader short which unfortunately is widespread in the musical literature." Prieberg was "not satisfied with presenting information gleaned at second, third or even fourth hand." Prieberg's primary goal was to tell "the story of a musician under the Nazi regime," and he accomplishes this by meticulously investigating untampered file collections which survived the war, as well as numerous earlier unknown documents and Furtwängler's own unpublished diaries, notes, and letters. This abundant assembly of researched facts presented in an impressive scholarly fashion, often with photocopies of the original documents, is a most convincing demonstration of Prieberg's main objective, stated in his Introduction, namely, to "counter tendencies both to hero-worship and to demonisation" of Furtwängler, and "demonstrate the importance of verifying the facts and their interconnections, without which opinions can be nothing more than unfounded expressions of emotion." There is no denying the fact that although Furtwängler was vindicated of any crime by an Allied de-nazification court after the war, he continued to suffer immeasurably from accusations that he was a Nazi sympathizer for the twelve-year "trial of strength" he endured between 1933 to 1945, including his forced resignation from the Berlin State Opera by the Nazi culture-machine.

Hence, this very important translation of the original German edition, *Kraftprobe: Wilhelm Furtwängler im Dritten Reich,* 1986, finally offers the English-speaking world, especially America (the first English edition was published in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

London in 1991) a definitive, credible, and careful presentation of the harrowing risks involved in being an artistic genius within the political restraints of an irrational dictatorship. Furtwängler was one of Germany's artists who—like Gottfried Benn, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, and others—decided to stay in Germany under the domination of the Third Reich. Though in his case, this was not a political decision (as naive as this is in retrospect), but rather a deep-rooted fidelity to his own "fiction"—as Prieberg calls it—interwoven with a mythological "other Germany" of unmatched artistic accomplishment, the decision cost him an enormous amount of severe, sometimes cruel, international criticism, including sharp criticism from Thomas Mann, Klaus Mann, Erika Mann, Bruno Walter, Toscanini, and others. Prieberg states "There is certainly no other German musician who faced such a storm of moral indignation as Furtwängler." The conductor faced great humiliation abroad, especially in Switzerland, while he steeped himself in the myth of German art, sincerely concerned with the preservation of the great German musical masterpieces, predominantly through an almost cultic allegiance to *creative performance* of these works.

Throughout the long, painful period of accusations of his collaboration with the Nazis, he continued to thwart the wishes of the entire National Socialist cause, but in his own way, never really acknowledging that political reality, while remaining true to the purest of German ideals, living in the aesthetic world of Beethoven and Wagner, fostering, nurturing an art of purity and humanity. Prieberg shows through his collected evidence that Furtwängler did intercede in defense of many Jewish members of his orchestra, as well as on behalf of internationally known Jewish performers and composers like the violin virtuoso Carl Flesch and the composer Arnold Schönberg, at times using actual quotations from Goebbels himself about furthering art without discriminating against the great Jewish musical interpreters! Prieberg's very methodical and clear, objective assessment of Furtwängler's "tactical" programming of concerts, invitations to foreign performers, active communication with contemporary composers, scholars, and artists, his ostensible support of the composer Paul Hindemith (whom Hitler despised), his unflinching resistance to political intervention, even by association, into the hallowed realm of the German musical canon, along with the rather overwhelming accompanying photographs, make this significant study a crucial one which might, at least for some of us today, possibly restore lost dignity, and perhaps the integrity, of one of the world's most brilliant, eccentric, musical geniuses. It was his difficult destiny to struggle as a performing artist with noble ideals within the web of a totalitarian state. The last photograph in this book could well be the most striking enigmatic emblem: the composer in death, lying in a satin shirt, with hands folded—"truly death and transfiguration" his widow has said of the photo. This reviewer couldn't help but recognize the amazing, uncanny resemblance of the facial features and pose of the body to that of a mummy of an Egyptian pharaoh.

WILLIAM F. SCHERER
University of Hawai'i

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed Elsewhere

ALLENDE, PAULA

Paula. Isabelle Allende. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 330 pp. $24.00.

Reviewed by Suzanne Rota. *New York Times Book Review,* May 21, 1995: 11.

". . . when her 27-year-old daughter, Paula, fell ill in December 1991 with a hereditary metabolic disorder known as porphyria and quickly lapsed into a coma, the writer's courage failed her. Then her agent, Carmen Balcells, showed up at the Madrid hospital with a stack of yellow note pads. This memoir is the result, and it is Ms. Allende's best work to date."

ARAFAT, YASIR

The Mystery of Arafat. Danny Rubinstein. South Royalton, VT: Steerforth, 1995. 140 pp. $18.00.

Reviewed by Clyde Haberman. *New York Times Book Review,* May 28, 1995: 5.

"This slender book, capably translated by Dan Leon, makes no pretense of being a comprehensive biography. Odds are that it will infuriate many Arafat haters, for it gives little space to the terrorism that has also defined Palestinian nationalism. But Mr. Rubinstein's interest here is the nature of the chairman's character and the absorbing contradictions that abound."

BABEL, ISAAC

1920 Diary. Isaac Babel. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995. 120 pp. $20.00.

Reviewed by Harold Bloom. *New York Times Book Review,* June 4, 1995: 13.

"Babel kept a journal, sometimes recording fragments of experience on the spot, at other times giving himself instructions on what to put in his dispatches to The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Red Cavalryman, a newspaper for the troop; '1920 Diary' is the first English translation of this campaign journal."

SAINT BERNARD

View et Légendes de Saint Bernard de Clairvaus. Création, diffusion, réception (XIIe-XXe siécles) [sic]. Actes des rencontres de Dijon (7–8 Juin 1991). Citeaux, Commentarii cistercienses (coll. Textes et documents, vol. 5), 1993. 436 pp.

Reviewed by Jean-Yves Tilliette. *Revue Historique* 587 (July–Sept. 1993): 210–13.

As the most recent scientific biography of St. Bernard is nearly a hundred years old, this symposium, held 900 years after the saint's birth, was welcome. It traced and analyzed the numerous illusions, legends, distortions, hagiographies, manipulations, and later "banalizations" under which was buried a highly original and fairly disturbing figure. Its conclusions will provide useful spadework for a new work to come.

BERTIER, FERDINAND DE

Souvenirs d'un ultra-royaliste (1815–1832). Présentés et annotes par Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny. Paris: Tallandier, 1993. 637 pp.

Reviewed by Pierre Guiral. *Revue Historique* 587 (July-Sept. 1993): 240–41.

Exercising high functions, now administrative now elective, under Louis XVIII and Charles X, this ultraroyalist was far from being lenient in his judgments about the ultra party. Future historians of the Restoration period will have to take into account his critical pages on the major protagonists of the time: Villèle, La Bourdonnaye, Polignac, Marmont, the Duchess of Berry, and M. de Mesnard, her evil genius. On the whole, an exceptional testimony.

BONAPARTE, NAPOLEON AND JOSEPHINE

Napoleon and Josephine: The Improbable Marriage. Evangeline Bruce. New York: A Lisa Drew Book/Scribner, 1995. 555 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by William Doyle. *New York Times Book Review*, April 9, 1995: 6.

"Evangeline Bruce knows Paris well, and as the wife of an American ambassador, David K. Bruce, has frequented many of the scenes of Napoleon's and Josephine's glory. She writes of them with style and sympathy in 'Napoleon and Josephine.' But although scrupulously footnoted, hers is not a book for scholars. The background material particularly contains an embarrassing number of errors of fact, date and sequence. The story is a familiar one and, retold, adds little to the sum of our knowledge of two characters intensively written about almost from the moment they met. Even so, this is an extremely readable account of their lives together, and an easy and attractive introduction to Napoleon and his private life. 'Napoleon and Josephine' has the additional advantage of not approaching him by way of the heroic legend. Josephine, if she began as an extravagant and promiscuous adventuress, at last achieved dignity in the end.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As Napoleon's treatment of her shows, the more dignity he sought, the less dignified was his behavior."

CARSON, RACHEL

Always, Rachel: The Letters of Rachel Carson and Dorothy Freeman, 1952–1964. Edited by Martha Freeman. Boston: Beacon, 1995. 567 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Doris Grumbach. *New York Times Book Review,* March 19, 1995: 10.

"It is not often that a collection of letters reveals character, emotional depth, personality, indeed intellect and talent, as well as a full biography might. These letters do all that."

CATHER, WILLA

Willa Cather. Anne T. Keene. New York: Julian Messner/Simon Schuster, 1995. 156 pp. $15.00.

Reviewed by Susan Ware. *New York Times Book Review,* May 11, 1995: 33.

"Anne T. Keene's 'Willa Cather' is part of Julian Messner's 'Classic American Writers' series, and its focus is primarily on Cather's literary career. Ms. Keene's straightforward if hardly riveting narrative combines biographical detail with plot summaries of all of Cather's major books. The interpretation of key events in Cather's life is generally sound, although it is a bit jarring to hear that she suffered a 'mid-life crisis' around the time she won the Pulitzer Prize in 1923. Fortunately, the biographer, who writes for children and adults and has taught at several universities, mostly avoids such anachronisms."

Willa Cather. Sharon O'Brien. New York: Chelsea House, 1995. 144 pp. Cloth, $19.95; Paper, $9.95.

Reviewed by Susan Ware. *New York Times Book Review,* May 11, 1995: 33.

"Sharon O'Brien's 'Willa Cather' is part of Chelsea House's 'Lives of Notable Gay Men and Lesbians' series, edited by Martin B. Duberman. But it would be wrong to see Ms. O'Brien's spirited and engaging book simply through the lens of gay and lesbian history or even as 'juvenile literature.' There is another interesting dialogue going on here: Ms. O'Brien, the author of the well-reviewed but densely argued 'Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice' (1986), is trying to write a different kind of book from her earlier scholarly study, one addressed to younger readers in a series explicitly committed to exploring issues of sexual orientation. She accomplishes this in less than 140 pages of text, plus a fine selection of photographs."

CHAMBERLAIN, SAM

Sam Chamberlain's Mexican War: The San Jacinto Museum of History Paintings. W. H. Goetzman. San Jacinto: San Jacinto Museum of History/Texas State Historical Association, 1995. $49.95.

Reviewed by Allen Boyer. *New York Times Book Review,* May 11, 1995: 26.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The paintings in 'Sam Chamberlain's Mexican War'—some of which illustrated Chamberlain's picaresque memoir, 'My Confession: The Recollections of a Rogue'—record his adventures in frontier Texas and Mexico. Chamberlain portrayed himself as a dime-novel hero—storming adobe fortresses, dueling with saber and bowie knife and rescuing no fewer than six maidens in distress. His art reflected what he had seen during the Mexican War. . . . W. H. Goetzman, who teaches history at the University of Texas, Austin, ably sets the historical context, sorting out the truths in Chamberlain's tall tales."

CLINTON, BILL

First in His Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton. David Moraniss. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. 512 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by John B. Judis. *New York Times Book Review,* March 19, 1995: 8.

"My own preference would have been for a book like Mr. [Garry] Wills's ['Nixon Agonistes'] one that attempted to frame the President's early life within an explicit estimate of his Presidency. Sure, it is almost impossible to do that, but Mr. Moraniss, who seems to know more about the President than virtually anyone except Mr. Clinton himself, was certainly the person to make the effort. He might have written a quiet failure for the discard bins, but he might also have produced a lasting contribution to our political understanding."

CONRAD, JOSEPH

Joseph Conrad. Ray Martin. Modern Fiction. London: Arnold, 1993. 118 pp. £7.00.

Reviewed by Sylvère Monod. *Etudes Anglaises.* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 103–104.

This attractive little collection aims at providing an introduction to modern authors, indeed, modernism is there from the start: Conrad dies at the very beginning, then gets married in a following section, and his birth occurs at last, as the final stage of his life. Otherwise, in spite of some surprising assertions, the book is remarkably intelligent and stimulating.

CURIE, MARIE

Marie Curie: A Life. Susan Quinn. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. 509 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* May 22, 1995: 91.

"This absorbing biography recounts the contributions of a brilliant scientist while also recalling the hostility evoked by her gender. . . . Quinn knows exactly how much to tell about Polish nationalism (Marie was born in Warsaw in 1867), French radicalism (Pierre Curie, whom she married in 1895, was the son of a Communard), daily life (the Curies were devotees of the bicycle), and relations with contemporaries (Rutherford, Einstein)."

Reviewed by Patrick McGilligan. *New York Times Book Review,* April 2, 1995: 3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Such documents [as Curie's descriptions of her daughter in her notebooks], including memoirs of Marie's siblings and letters of her mother, translated for the first time from Polish, illuminate 'Marie Curie: A Life.' The author of a previous biography 'A Life of Her Own: The Life of Karen Horney,' Ms. Quinn writes sparely, directly, without sentiment, and yet conveys the warmth and the genius of her remarkable subject."

DALADIER, EDOUARD

Prison Journal, 1940–1945. Edouard Daladier. Edited by Jean Daladier and Jean Deridan. Boulder: Westview, 1995. 376 pp. $34.95.

Reviewed by Philip Morrison. *New York Times Book Review,* April 9, 1995: 17.

"If the diary merely contained Daladier's spin on why France went down to defeat, it might be of interest to historians, and to few others. As it happens, Daladier, a former history teacher, was also a good writer. And even in prison he knew all about the political struggles taking place inside Vichy, and about the war raging beyond France's borders. The result is a fascinating document in which anecdotes about day-to-day life alternate with often prescient political commentaries. The translation by Arthur D. Greenspan is fluent, although it is jarring to see 'les Boches'—the French nickname for the Germans—translated as 'the Krauts.'"

DIMAGGIO, JOE

DiMaggio: The Last American Knight. Joseph Durso. Boston: Little, Brown, 1995. 272 pp. $22.95.

Reviewed by Richard Gid Powers. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 42.

"Originally, Mr. Durso was to be the ghostwriter for DiMaggio's autobiography. After DiMaggio decided not to go ahead, it appears that few who are still friendly with him except for his publicist and lawyers talked on the record. In his preface, Mr. Durso gamely suggests that 'maybe, the only way to 'do' DiMaggio, with all the closed vaults of his memory, was without DiMaggio.'

Mr. Durso does his best to flog life into a project which must have sorely tested his professional grit."

DISRAELI, BENJAMIN

Young Disraeli: 1804–1846. Jane Ridley. New York: Crown, 1995. 406 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by John Sutherland. *New York Times Book Review,* April 30, 1995: 28.

"This first volume is not, one should emphasize, simply half a biography, although Jane Ridley's 'Young Disraeli' stops when Disraeli is just over 40 (with 35 years of hyperactive life remaining) and on the threshold of his career as a statesman. More than any other British politician, Disraeli invented himself, and Ms. Ridley meticulously traces the step-by-step progress of the making of Disraeli."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DOS PASSOS, JOHN

John Dos Passos: l'écriture miroir. Patricia Bleu-Schwenninger. Grenoble: ELLUG. Université Stendhal, 1992. 309 pp. F 110.

Reviewed by Roger Asselineau. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 112–13.

The author rightly sees in Dos Passos's work a mirror, an uninterrupted autobiography. But if the novelist looks at himself and admires himself, he at the same describes the world of the U.S.A. The border between the Quixotic quest of the self and the reporting is constantly traced by Patricia Bleu, who is open to a single reproach: excessive modesty makes her look for a shelter behind theoreticians like Philippe Lejeune or Marthe Robert, who bring her nothing essential.

DREYFUS AFFAIR

Regards sur l'Affaire Dreyfus. Daniel Halévy. Préface de Jean-Pierre Halévy. Paris: Editions de Fallois, 1993. 291 pp.

Reviewed by Pierre Guiral. *Revue Historique* 587 (July–Sept. 1993): 239–40.

This book will help the reader better know Daniel Halévy, an historian who has not yet been given his rightful place, and provide precious portraits of some protagonists of the Affair: Scheurer-Kestner (the M.P. who started it all), Mathieu Dreyfus (the indefatigable brother), the attractive Colonel Picquart, François Coppée the poet (hesitant at first), Léon Daudet (the explosive polemist), the Princess of Monaco (pro-Dreyfus), and the painter Degas (anti-Dreyfus).

EDWARD, DUKE OF YORK

Prince Edward and the Homosexual Underworld. Theo Aronson. North Pomfret, VT: John Murray/Trafalgar Square, 1995. $34.95.

Reviewed by Nina Auerbach. *New York Times Book Review,* March 26, 1995: 14.

"I liked 'Prince Eddy,' despite its unreliability and intellectual unevenness, because it presents Victorian male homosexuality as a vibrant folk culture, one that pervaded all official institutions. Students of erotica will love this book, and so will royal-watchers, but arbiters of sexual purity should hate it, for Mr. Aronson displays an underground culture that exposed its judges as upright liars."

FARRAND, BEATRIX JONES

Beatrix: The Gardening Life of Beatrix Jones Farrand, 1872–1959. Jane Brown. New York: Viking, 1995. 252 pp. $50.00.

Reviewed by Eleanor Dwight. *New York Times Book Review,* March 26, 1995: 26.

"Ms. Brown's book is a happy addition to the Farrand studies that began in the early 1980's. . . . Ms. Brown's overview of Beatrix Jones Farrand's career is engrossing but still lacks the overall elegance of a Farrand landscape."

FISHER, JOHN

Fisher's Face: Or, Getting to Know the Admiral. Jan Morris. New York: Random House, 1995. 300 pp. $23.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Nigel Nicolson. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 36.

". . . Jan Morris with the advantage of hindsight, the memories of the few survivors of Fisher's regime and a gentle admiration for this most maverick of men, has shown us that for all of his shortcomings, Fisher was a great and, in his own particular way, a noble man. Hers is a most worthy biography."

FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR

Twilight of the Hapsburgs: The Life and Times of Emperor Francis Joseph. Alan Palmer. New York: Grove, 1995. 388 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by James J. Sheehan. *New York Times Book Review,* April 16, 1995: 22.

"In 'Twilight of the Hapsburgs,' Mr. Palmer, a British biographer and historian who has also written lives of Bismarck and Metternich, strikes just the right balance between the story of Francis Joseph's life and the history of his times. Skillfully exploiting published letters, memoirs and some archival materials, Mr. Palmer reconstructs the world of the imperial family, in which individual foibles and political conflicts were inseparably intertwined."

FRANK, ANNE

The Diary of Anne Frank: The Definitive Edition. Edited by Otto H. Frank and Mirjam Pressler. New York: Doubleday, 1995. 340 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Patricia Hampl. *New York Times Book Review,* March 5, 1995: 14 & 21.

"The earlier 'Critical Edition' is the book for research, but this 'Definitive Edition,' smoothly translated anew by Susan Massotty, is the reader's edition, unencumbered by notes, with only the barest afterword to conclude the story that Anne Frank was unable to finish herself."

FREEMAN, DOROTHY (See "Carson, Rachel")

GARBO, GRETA

Garbo: A Biography. Barry Paris. New York: Knopf, 1995. 654 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Patrick McGilligan. *New York Times Book Review,* April 2, 1995: 3.

"Is it unfair to blame Mr. Paris if he cannot connect the three acts of Greta Garbo's life? The director Rouben Mamoulian seemed to get things right with his ending of 'Queen Christina,' when he focused on Garbo's face in a long shot that gradually became an enormous, lingering close-up; back then, that face was everyone's tabula rasa. Nowadays, one is left with a different impression—of a lonely, pathetic woman whose rendezvous with fame was like a car crash that left her permanently scarred. Mr. Paris has chipped away at her, but even after death Garbo remains a few feet ahead of him and her other admirers—walking quickly away, the mysterious Face shielded by her trench coat."

GEISEL, THEODOR

Dr. Seuss and Mr. Geisel: A Biography. Judith Morgan and Neil Morgan. New York: Random House, 1995. 346 pp. $25.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Ann Hulbert. *New York Times Book Review,* April 23, 1995: 10.

"Dr. Seuss, despite the zany new look of his books for children and his occasional claims to being 'subversive as hell,' was not exactly an iconoclast. This first, and decorous, full-length biography of the man who was otherwise known as Theodor Seuss Geisel is a useful reminder of that. Yet, in turning him into an all-too-stolid national icon, Judith Morgan and Neil Morgan, California journalists and longtime friends of 'Ted,' have missed a key source of Dr. Seuss' power. Their adulatory American success story, published by Dr. Seuss' own longtime publisher, breezes past his anxious ambivalence about unbridled imagination."

GOD

God: A Biography. Jack Miles. New York: Knopf, 1995. 446 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Phyllis Trible. *New York Times Book Review,* May 14, 1995: 10.

"The twists and turns of this formidable reading offer more than enough to stir up people who are at ease in Zion, and those who are not. All who believe that God, or the devil, is in the details will have trouble. At places the argument is strained and prone to hyperbole. Nonetheless, with artistic sensitivity Mr. Miles has accomplished what others have failed to try. He has made a certain literary sense of the character God in the totality of the Tanakh."

GORDIMER, NADINE

Nadine Gordimer. Louvel Liliane. Nancy: PU de Nancy, 1994. 191 pp. FF 100.

Reviewed by Antoine J. Bullier. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 106–7.

To those who believe that Nadine Gordimer was awarded the Nobel Prize because she was politically correct and a woman, Louvel demonstrates that if she did contribute to the destruction of the apartheid regime, it is because she is one of the very great writers of her generation.

HARLAN, JOHN MARSHALL

Judicial Enigma: The First Justice Harlan. Tinsley E. Yarbrough. New York: Oxford UP, 1995. 280 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by William H. Chafe. *New York Times Book Review,* May 28, 1995: 14.

"In 'Judicial Enigma,' Tinsley E. Yarbrough, a professor of political science at East Carolina University and the author of several books on law and the courts, tells the rich, complicated and sometimes contradictory story of the man who wrote that famous dissent [of Plessy vs. Ferguson]. It is the story that effectively mixes colorful details of 19th-century politics with the efforts of one jurist to find a moral mooring amid the rapidly shifting tides of racial and social attitudes."

HE LIYI

Mr. China's Son: A Villager's Life. He Liyi with Claire Anne Chik. Boulder: Westview, 1993. 271 pp. $55 cloth; $16.95 paper.

Reviewed by Beth E. Notar. *Journal of Asian Studies* 54.1 (Feb. 1995): 194–95.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"He Liyi belongs to the Bai Nationality of Yunnan province, the fourteenth largest of China's fifty-five officially recognized minority groups. Due to their relative prosperity and stability, the Bai serve as a kind of model minority for the Chinese State....With his father's encouragement he [He] studied English in college. But what should have been his second key to the outside world becomes his ball and chain: it is his love of English that leads to his being branded a rightist. . . .

The production and publication of his autobiography in English serve as a strong testament to the will and perseverance of He Liyi. Around these main themes, He winds the vivid and sometimes brutal details of life in the countryside. . . . In an original and captivating style, He Liyi has recounted China's tumultuous national struggle as seen from the village level: a peasant's persistence against pain, a minority man's coming to terms with his own identity, a father's hope for a better future for himself and his family."

HEPBURN, KATHERINE

Katherine Hepburn. Barbara Leaming. New York: Crown, 1995. 549 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Janet Maslin. *New York Times Book Review,* April 16, 1995: 10.

"'Katherine Hepburn' is Ms. Leaming's penetrating look beyond Ms. Hepburn's acting career and into the forces that shaped such an emblematic figure. . . . Prodigious research has yielded a family history that is both revealing on its own terms and a necessary backdrop to any consideration of Ms. Hepburn's career. Indeed, this account is so enveloping that the star herself does not put in an appearance until the book is one fourth over."

HOYLE, FRED

Home is Where the Wind Blows: Chapters from a Cosmologist's Life. Fred Hoyle. Mill Valley, CA: University Science Books, 1994. 443 pp. $32.50.

Reviewed by John Faulkner. *Science* 267, no. 5195 (13 Jan. 1995): 264–65.

"Were experts asked to name those mainly responsible for the dramatic developments in theoretical astronomy after World War II, Sir Fred Hoyle would surely top most lists. . . . Hoyle has now published his autobiography—and a compelling, beautifully written, and rollicking good read it is. As I read certain sections, my frequent guffaws threatened to disturb an entire apartment block. . . . [H]is seizure of limited wartime scientific opportunities and a fortuitous series of outspoken BBC talks, during which he somewhat derisorily coined the term 'Big Bang,' propelled him to major postwar prominence. . . . [A]ll working astronomers and others seeking rich and controversial insights should read this book—for then they will partly know the mind of Hoyle."

HYPATIA OF ALEXANDRIA

Hypatia of Alexandria. Maria Dzielska. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995. 159 pp. $29.95 or £23.95.

Reviewed by Wilbur R. Knorr. *Science* 268, no. 5211 (5 May 1995): 744.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"By the early 390s Hypatia (then about 40 years of age) was a distinguished teacher of Neoplatonic philosophy, the charismatic leader of a tight-knit and influential circle of intellectuals and aristocrats, including some prominent Christians (among them three future bishops).

Through a subtle reading of the ancient sources Dzielska reconstructs a powerful and persuasive account of Hypatia's life. She also addresses the difficult task of describing her philosophy. A charismatic teacher and lecturer, Hypatia left no philosophical writings. . . . If it is true that mathematicians writing on Hypatia have tended to be naive on the cultural context, the cultural experts provide no remedy by slighting scholarship on the mathematics. The obvious solution would be a collaboration. For now, we still await a satisfactory account of Hypatia's work and influence."

JEFFERSON, THOMAS

The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1776–1826. Edited by James Morton Smith. New York: Norton. Three volumes, boxed, 2,073 pp. $150.00

Reviewed by Arthur Quinn. *New York Times Book Review,* May 11, 1995: 11.

"Unfortunately, the three volumes of 'The Republic of Letters' are not of uniform interest. The magnificent first volume starts with the American Revolution and ends with Jefferson, in his enthusiasm for the French Revolution, expounding on the theme that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living" and Madison then calmly and quietly demonstrating that the measures his idealistic friend has drawn from his grand principle are simply balmy. This volume is engrossing not just because of the stirring events its letters reflect but also because for much of the time Jefferson was the Continental Congress's Minister to France—and so the only contact between the two men was through their frequent and informative letters.

Once they are back working together, however, the correspondence—notably in Volume 2—often becomes sporadic, even perfunctory. The most revealing private exchanges now, one suspects, occurred face to face and are lost forever. Mr. Smith, in ample introductions to the 50 chapters into which he has divided his edition, has done his best to remedy such deficiencies, but frequently his efforts only serve to emphasize how little the correspondence illuminates crucial episodes like the Louisiana purchase and the Jefferson-Hamilton rivalry in Washington's Cabinet.

I found my interest picking up again in the later part of the third volume, after Madison had finished his term as President and the old friends embarked on their joint retirement project of founding the University of Virginia, their cherished temple of science and liberty."

JORDAN, DORA

Mrs. Jordan's Profession: The Actress and the Prince. Claire Tomalin. New York: Knopf, 1995. 414 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Stella Tillyard. *New York Times Book Review,* May 14, 1995: 9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Claire Tomalin's "portrait of Mrs. Jordan as a loving mother and outstanding professional highlights not the tragic victim of male perfidy but the successful architect of all but the very end of her life."

KEROUAC, JACK

Jack Kerouac: Selected Letters, 1940–1956. Edited by Ann Charters. New York: Viking, 1995. 629 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Ann Douglas. *New York Times Book Review,* April 9, 1995: 2 & 21.

"Ms. Charters has selected, and meticulously annotated, nearly 200 letters written by Kerouac (along with nine written to him, principally from his mother), about half of the total available to her for the period from 1940 to 1956; she is preparing a second volume of letters from Kerouac's final 13 years. Included in the current book is a rich array of correspondence, most of it previously unpublished, to editors, family members and friends, especially important figures of the Beat movement like Neal Cassady, Allen Ginsburg, William Burroughs and John Clellon Holmes. While of great importance to anyone interested in the man and his movement, Kerouac's letters are not the strongest evidence of his gift. He saved his best prose for his books, using letter writing as he did his omnipresent notebook: as a backstage space to explore his art and troubled sexual identity with which it was entangled."

KENNEDY, ROSE

Rose: The Life and Times of Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy. Charles Higham. New York: Pocket Books, 1995. 454 pp. $23.00.

Reviewed by Florence King. *New York Times Book Review,* April 23, 1995: 34.

"Errors abound, particularly in matters of Roman Catholic Doctrine. . . . In other places the book is over researched and padded. . . . Contradictions abound. . . . The book is less a biography of Rose Kennedy than an apologia for her husband."

LEAR, EDWARD

Edward Lear: A Biography. Peter Levi. New York: Scribners, 1995. 362 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Anthony Lane. *New Yorker,* May 29, 1995: 84–88.

"Peter Levi's book is only the latest attempt to sort through the strange case of Edward Lear. Levi should be the ideal sleuth; he is a classicist and a poet, he has traveled as widely as his subject did, and his former incarnations included Jesuit priest and Professor of Poetry at Oxford. All of which makes it rather a pity that this book proceeds in such an eager, ramshackled style—somewhere between a prance and a ramble, descending at times into a parody of dotty donnishness. . . .

Levi's book is bright enough, but far from clear. He trips from fact to supposition without any principle to guide him, and there are moments when his prodi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gious knowledge sours into a kind of historical knowingness, a presumption that one can be chummy with the not so recent past."

Reviewed by Peter Parker. *New York Times Book Review,* May 21, 1995: 1 & 40–41.

"Peter Levi, the British poet, translator, and classicist and the author of books about Alfred Tennyson, Boris Pasternak and Leo Tolstoy, is a great admirer of Lear, both as a man and as an artist, but his 'Lear: A Biography,' in spite of its subtitle, is not exactly a biography. Unashamedly personal in its approach, it grew out of a 'lifelong pleasure' in all aspects of Lear's work, and it is Mr. Levi's sheer enthusiasm for his subject that is at once his book's principal strength and weakness."

MACDONALD, JERRY

Fatal Justice: Reinvestigating the MacDonald Murders. Jerry Allen Potter and Fred Bost. New York: Norton, 1995. 463 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Joe Sharkey. *New York Times Book Review,* May 19, 1995: 31–32.

". . . prosecutorial misconduct turns up even in cases where the defendant is found holding a smoking gun. And sometimes, of course, innocent people are wrongly convicted. On rare occasions, journalistic re-examinations of such cases . . . have freed wrongly convicted people. But this kind of thing isn't done by making suppositions or by offering plausible alternative scenarios that can't be proved. It's done by uncovering new evidence, presenting living witnesses, uncovering solid information that stands up to tough challenge.

That is where 'Fatal Justice' falls short."

MADISON, JAMES (See "Jefferson, Thomas")

MANN, THOMAS

Thomas Mann: A Biography. Ronald Hayman. New York: Scribners, 1995. 672 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Theodore Ziolkowski. *New York Times Book Review,* March 26, 1995: 28.

"Mann's admirers will find here many new details, often trivial, about a great modern writer. But the Lord of the Antinomies, the master of montage, the genius of literary integration, deserves a more reliable, eloquent and nuanced biography."

MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC, ROBERT DE (See "Whistler, James McNeil")

MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS

Mozart: A Life. Maynard Solomon. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 640 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Edward Rothstein. *New York Times Book Review,* March 26, 1995: 7–9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The real difficulty, as Mr. Solomon notes, lies in 'reading the runes' of these masterpieces, determining how they connect with the man. But his interpretation of Mozart's mental life is so suggestive and nuanced that it already has a musical character, and his brief explications of the music reveal in it some of the same tensions that governed Mozart's personality—between tradition and innovation, propriety and surprise, rationality and the carnivalesque . . . he [Solomon] correctly senses 'the jarring fragility and incompleteness of their cathartic effect, the impermanence and ambiguity of the transcendent residue with which we are left at the close.' They do not provide definitive answers or resolutions. Mozart's music gives no casual comforts. Neither does this book. It leaves a sense of wonder at what is understood and fascination at what can never be understood, an acceptance of Mozart's Zoroastrian lesson: that riddles are as important as the solutions."

NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY

Présence de Newman. Dessain Charles Stephen. Paris: Le Cerf, 1993. 203 pp. FF 95.

Reviewed by Paul Vaiss. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 97–98.

Not a complete panorama of Newman's thinking and spirituality, but a selection of themes, this French version of a 1977 book shows the originality of the theological system of the prelate, and his sense for sacraments together with the poetic vision of the beauties of nature. But his Reform heritage, especially the evangelical influence, is minimized. Besides, the supporter of Newman's canonization shows through tryingly; for example, no kind of a case can be made for the Cardinal's humility.

NIN, ANAÏS

Anaïs Nin: A Biography. Deirdre Bair. New York: Putnam, 1995. 654 pp. $39.95.

Reviewed by Bruce Bawer. *New York Times Book Review,* March 5, 1995: 10.

"Ms. Bair, who has also written biographies of Samuel Beckett and Simone de Beauvoir, doesn't make excessive claims for Nin's literary importance, yet she considers her a key figure, a precursor of current trends and controversies. . . . This book's ultimate irony may be that Ms. Bair has captured Anaïs Nin with a psychological insight and critical intelligence that Nin herself never possessed."

ONASSIS, JACQUELINE BOUVIER KENNEDY

Jackie Under My Skin: Interpreting an Icon. Wayne Koestenbaum. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995. 291 pp. $21.00.

Reviewed by Veronica Geng. *New York Times Book Review,* May 21, 1995: 12–13.

"'Variety declared, JACKIE IS UNDISPUTED TOP FEMME IN WORLD': Wayne Koestenbaum is saying that within variety there are elites of one. He's in the next tiniest elite worth defining, the poets. He has written two volumes of verse (as well as a book on opera), and in 'Jackie Under My Skin: Interpreting an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Icon' his prose devotions to top femme are composed as sonnets or songs may be, in a cycle."

OSWALD, LEE HARVEY

Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery. Norman Mailer. New York: Random House, 1995. 828 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Thomas Powers. *New York Times Book Review,* April 30, 1995: 1 & 32–34.

". . . Mailer's self-appointed task in his 28th book is to provide Oswald's life with some stature beyond a few seconds of luck shooting.

[As a result] 'Oswald's Tale' is two books. They are completely different in style and method. Either one of these books if published alone would have been a minor affair. The two taken together are breathtaking in ambition and ask more than readers may be prepared to give."

PAINE, THOMAS

Tom Paine: A Political Life. John Keane. Boston: Little, Brown, 1995. 654 pp. $27.95.

Reviewed by Pauline Maier. *New York Times Book Review,* March 12, 1995: 1 & 21–23.

"It is difficult, of course, to become expert on all aspects of a life like Paine's, and for most readers, those shortcomings will make little difference. This is not a definitive biography, however. . . . 'Tom Paine: A Political Life' does provide an engaging perspective on England, America and France in the tumultuous years of the late 18th century, and a good introduction to a complex historical character who is more agreeable encountered on paper than he often was in person."

PASTEUR, LOUIS

The Private Science of Louis Pasteur. Gerald L. Geison. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995. 378 pp. $29.95.

Reviewed by Lewis Wolpert. *New York Times Book Review,* May 11, 1995: 35.

"This book provides a fascinating and detailed account of much of Pasteur's life and of French science in the last century. But its aim is wider. Mr. Geison thinks the episodes he examines have a contemporary message: Science, like any other form of culture, relies on rhetoric; objective, value-free science may be a myth. In fact, no matter how brilliant a scientist's rhetoric, in the long run the truth will out. Social factors influence the course of science; the outcome is determined by nature.

What this life of Pasteur shows is how complex, hard and imaginative scientific discovery is, and that it requires a variety of skills rarely found in one person. Mr. Geison has gone some way to deconstruct the myth of Pasteur and the belief that all of his science is pure and beautiful, but most of Pasteur's beautiful science still shines brightly."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PATER, WALTER

Walter Pater: Lover of Strange Souls. Denis Donoghue. New York: Knopf, 1995. 364 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Valentine Cunnigham. *New York Times Book Review,* May 14, 1995: 15.

"... if Denis Donoghue's new critical life (more a work of critical analysis with biographical outriggers than a biography) is to be believed—and I see no reason to doubt Pater's canniest interpreter so far—Pater defined what became for Wilde and Yeats, Eliot, Joyce and Pound the essence of the modernist esthetic sensibility, represented, Pater said, by Coleridge: 'that inexhaustible discontent, langour and homesickness, the chords of which ring all through our modern literature.'"

PIOZZI, MRS. (MRS. THRALE)

The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi (formerly Mrs. Thrale), 1792–1821. Vol. 2 *1792–1798.* Vol. 3 *1799–1804.* Newark: U of Delaware P. London and Toronto: Associated UP and Golden Cockerel. 562 pp. and 529 pp. £ 55.

Reviewed by Roger Asselnieau. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 95–96.

This under-Sévigne was an inexhaustible letter writer. A committee citizen, she detested the French and launched warnings at John Bull (. . . "before He Dies"). She regrettably says too little of her dear Samuel Johnson, but under her pen the agitated life of her time revives.

ROBINSON, JACKIE

Great Time Coming: The Life of Jackie Robinson from Baseball to Birmingham. David Faulkner. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995. $25.00.

Reviewed by George Robinson. *New York Times Book Review,* April 2, 1995: 18.

"The author's thesis is that Robinson's Republicanism was the result of his attempt to give the civil rights movement a beachhead in both parties. Mr. Faulkner's examination of this aspect of Robinson's career, certainly the most comprehensive to date, goes beyond previous biographies to show that Robinson's sports career and political activism formed a whole. However, it is Robinson's struggles in baseball that make for the most compelling reading, and although Mr. Faulkner covers them well, the story has been better told elsewhere, particularly in Jules Tygiel's definitive 'Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy' (1983)."

ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO

Closest Companion: The Unknown Story of the Intimate Friendship Between Franklin Roosevelt and Margaret Suckley. Edited by Geoffrey C. Ward. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1995. 444 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed anonymously. *New Yorker,* April 24, 1995: 115.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The friendship's—and the book's—consistent amiability is mysteriously refreshing."

Reviewed by R. W. B. Lewis. *New York Times Book Review,* April 9, 1995: 1 & 34.

". . . after Margaret's death in 1991, at nearly 100, a battered suitcase was found under her bed, containing thousands of pages of a journal from 1933 onward, 'a sort of Diary of F.D.R.,' as she herself called it, with 38 letters from Roosevelt to her and a vast number of letters from her to him (these latter she had retrieved cautiously after the President's death). The whole batch has been adroitly edited by Geoffrey C. Ward, the author of two books about Roosevelt's early career (and the author, with Ric Burns and Ken Burns, of 'The Civil War'), and brought together in 'Closest Companion.' From it we learn that the relationship was much more charged with meaning than anyone suspected until now. Mr. Ward's subtitle—'The Unknown Story of the Intimate Friendship Between Franklin Roosevelt and Margaret Suckley'—may verge on the self-promotional, but its adjectives prove justified."

Hard Bargain: How FDR Twisted Churchill's Arm, Evaded the Law, and Changed the Role of the American Presidency. Robert Shogan. New York: Scribner, 1995. 320 pp. $24.00.

Reviewed by Richard Norton Smith. *New York Times Book Review,* April 30, 1995: 11.

"In 'Hard Bargain' Mr. Shogan, a veteran political correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times* and the author of several well-received books on the American Presidency, has produced a dramatic, disturbing and scrupulously balanced alternative to the popular consensus."

ROSS, HAROLD

Genius in Disguise: Harold Ross of The New Yorker. Thomas Kunkel. New York: Random House, 1995. 497 pp. $25.00.

Reviewed by Richard Lineman. *New York Times Book Review,* April 2, 1995: 7 & 16.

"Thomas Kunkel has shrewdly assayed the elements that went into Ross's greatness as an editor. Inevitably, he retails some venerable anecdotes, but he usually manages to add a fresh twist or fact to the story. The result is an ably written journalistic history that explains how Ross did it but is less informative on the why. He does not develop the darker side of the Ross persona—Ross's phobia against intimacy, for example, which blighted his relationship with his wives. Mr. Kunkel mentions that Ross slept in a specially constructed 'military-style cot, low and extra wide,' because he had nightmares and thrashed around; there were spells in a sanitarium, which Ross jocularly referred to as the 'bughouse.' Ross deserves a reading of greater complexity."

THE ROTHSCHILDS

The French Rothschilds: The Great Banking Dynasty Through Two Turbulent Centuries. Herbert R. Lottman. New York: Crown, 1995. 405 pp. $30.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by Ron Chernow. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 40.

"Mr. Lottman has done yeoman's work in putting the whole story between two covers, packing it with ample information. He draws on some fertile new sources, including literary diaries and Paris police files. Unfortunately 'The French Rothschilds' lacks the wit or sparkle of the clan's Olympian escapades. The reader searches for a theme that will breathe meaning into the story or lift narration into revelation, and wishes by the end, that just a soupçon of the Rothschild's high style had rubbed off on their tenacious and diligent chronicler."

SHINKEI

Heart's Flower: The Life and Poetry of Shinkei. Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994. 475 pp. $60.00.

Reviewed by Stephen D. Miller. *Journal of Asian Studies* 54.1 (Feb. 1995): 220–22.

"This study of the fifteenth-century poet-priest Shinkei (1406-75), is a welcome complement to the recent spate of critical works on and translations of medieval—especially Muromachi period—Japanese literature. . . . [T]hanks to the diligent research that produced this study, Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen paints us a much fuller picture of this elusive poet, a picture that reveals him to be one of Japan's most inspired literary artists. *Heart's Flower* is divided into two main sections, a literary biography and a reader. The biographical section is divided into six chapters that, for the most part, follow Shinkei's life linearly. Because of the fragmentary nature of the sources on Shinkei, however, the author has chosen to write a biography in which Shinkei's poems and certain passages from his treatises and essays become, in part, the voice of the biography itself. . . . [T]his volume, along with the next projected on Shinkei's critical treatises, will be the standard to strive for when discussing Japanese poetry before the Tokugawa period."

STRACHEY, LYTTON

Lytton Strachey: The New Biography. Michael Holroyd. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995. 780 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Angeline Goreau. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 7.

"With the addition of its fascinating new material, Mr. Holroyd's biography gives us a character study of Strachey and his circle that is more complex than ever. The literary criticism that was so important to the first volume, however, has been substantially cut, with the consequence that the connection between who Strachey was and what he wrote is not as fully established as it might be."

SUCKLEY, MARGARET (See "Roosevelt, Franklin Delano")

TAYLOR, ELIZABETH

A Passion for Life: The Biography of Elizabeth Taylor. Donald Spoto. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 401 pp. $25.00.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Liz: An Intimate Biography of Elizabeth Taylor. C. David Heyman. New York: Birch Lane Press/Carol Publishing Group, 1995. 526 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Wayne Koestenbaum. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 45.

"Donald Spoto's measured, articulate biography, 'A Passion for Life,' does justice to her histrionic gifts and concocts convincing links between her screen personae and her catastrophic private life. In contrast, the mission of the dish specialist C. David Heyman's 'Liz' is to recount tidbits so scandalous the mind reels. One marvels at his reportorial skills. How did he get insider sources to describe the private parts of her consorts?"

THOMAS, CAITLIN

Caitlin: The Life of Caitlin Thomas. Paul Ferris. North Pomfret, VT: Pimlico/Trafalgar Square, 1995. 278 pp. $16.95.

Reviewed by David Plante. *New York Times Book Review,* April 23, 1995: 29.

"There are many reasons to praise this biography: the high quality of the writing, its impressive integration of a wealth of information into a smoothly flowing narrative, the very drama of that narrative. But what makes it so successful is that in the end Caitlin Thomas comes so fully to life in its pages. Paradoxically, the more Mr. Ferris (who is a novelist as well as biographer) enters the book to record his own reactions to her, the more vivid and immediate his subject appears."

TISCH, LAURENCE

The King of Cash: The Inside Story of Laurence Tisch. Christopher Winans. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1995. 288 pp. $24.95.

Reviewed by Bill Carter. *New York Times Book Review,* May 21, 1995: 36.

"As presented here, Laurence A. Tisch's life is not much more than the tale of a big-time shopper."

VALERA, EAMON DE

Eamon de Valera: The Man who was Ireland. Tim Pat Coogan. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 772 pp. $30.00.

Reviewed by Thomas Flanagan. *New York Times Book Review,* April 30, 1995: 8.

"It is the kind of biography, not much seen these days, colorfully written, engagingly robust and remorselessly, at time gleefully hostile."

WHISTLER, JAMES MCNEIL

Whistler and Montesquiou: The Butterfly and the Bat. Edgar Munhall. New York: The Frick Collection/Flammarion/Abbeville Press, 1995. 175 pp. $45.00.

Reviewed by John Russell. *New York Times Book Review,* June 4, 1995: 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Part picture book, part biography, 'Whistler and Montesquiou: The Butterfly and the Bat' is an irresistible account of what followed from the 1885 meeting in London of two of the more conspicuous European figures of their day. From the moment James McNeil Whistler and Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac sat down to dinner at the Reform Club as guests of Henry James, smoke signals could be detected and slow fuses began to burn."

James McNeil Whistler. Richard Dorment and Margaret F. MacDonald. New York: Abrams, 1995. $85.00.

Reviewed by Andrea Barnet. *New York Times Book Review,* June 4, 1995: 21.

"So captivating has been Whistler's life . . . that the 20th-century avant-garde has never quite found a place for him among its heroes; his outsized personality has been allowed to eclipse his startling artistic innovations. 'James McNeil Whistler' goes a long way toward remedying this situation. The authors—Richard Dorment, art critic of *The Daily Telegraph* in London, and Margaret F. MacDonald, a research fellow at the Center for Whistler Studies at the University of Glasgow—present Whistler through the places and people he chose to paint. Each of the more than 300 illustrations, many in color, is annotated with notes about the location, medium and people depicted."

WHITMAN, WALT

Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography. David S. Reynolds. New York: Knopf, 1995. 671 pp. $35.00.

Reviewed by Paul Berman. *New Yorker,* June 12, 1995: 98–104.

"Reynolds conjectures that someone like Whitman, whose formal schooling came to an end well before high school, would have lived in an atmosphere both of high culture and of popular culture, but popular culture especially. And with that idea firmly in mind, Reynolds sets out to paint a panorama of the popular culture and intellectual life of New York in the eighteen-forties and fifties."

Reviewed by Alfed Kazin. *New York Times Book Review,* May 14, 1995: 3 & 25.

"Mr. Reynolds has certainly excavated a great deal of the period, demonstrating how Whitman—a man 'immersed in his times'—gathered 'images from virtually every cultural arena . . . transforming them through his powerful personality into art,' and I am grateful. Only after I marked on page after page things about Whitman (1819–92) and his America I never knew before did it flash on me that there is not a word of personal affection in the book for Whitman's poetry, not a hint of how Whitman's gift for love and boundless affirmation moved and charged up readers all over the world."

WILSON, EDMUND

Edmund Wilson. Jeffrey Meyers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995. $35.00.

Reviewed by Elizabeth Hardwick. *New Yorker,* May 8, 1995: 85–89.

"Meyers has brought together the grand flow of Wilson's work and life, including all the flirtations, the drinking, and the marital discord. But he has not been able to recreate in his own pages his subject's brilliance of mind and spirit."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reviewed by James Atlas. *New York Times Book Review,* April 30, 1995: 6–7.

This is "a biography that—how rare in this day of 'definitive' doorstoppers—is fun to read. It was Wilson's great distinction to have devised a style that made literature accessible to the general reader; he resented that academics—'the professional sodality,' the biographer calls them—had taken over the field.

Mr. Meyers has managed to do for Wilson the one thing Wilson couldn't do for himself: bring some insight into his life."

WRIGHT, RICHARD

Conversations with Richard Wright. Kenneth Kinnamon and Michel Fabre, eds. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1993. 288 pp. $32.50. £ 14.95.

Reviewed by Bruce Dick. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan–Mar. 1995: 114–15.

Over fifty long interviews provide a fair, even exciting, idea of the range of interests of Mississippi's best-known black son, who had become at the end of his life a well-traveled Marxist intellectual and who is revealed here as a committed citizen of the world attempting to question and explode racial definitions in order to bring an end to racial perspectives about the contemporary world.

WOJTYLA, KAROL

Pope John Paul II: The Biography. Tad Szulc. New York: A Lisa Drew Book/Scribner, 1995. 542 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Margaret O'Brien Steinfels. *New York Times Book Review,* May 14, 1995: 11.

"Mr. Szulc, a former Washington and foreign correspondent for the *New York Times,* was born in Poland; his family left in 1937. Though he had unusual access to the Pope, his staff, his friends and erstwhile enemies in Poland, Mr. Szulc is careful to say that this is not an authorized work. Nor has he written . . . the definitive biography. Even so, Mr. Szulc's book is as close an account as we are likely to have of the way a particular culture and era gave birth to this very Polish Pope."

YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER

Family Secret: William Butler Yeats and His Relatives. William M. Murphy. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1995. 534 pp. $39.95.

Reviewed by Tim Pat Coogan. *New York Times Book Review,* April 9, 1995: 22.

"In stature Mr. Murphy may be reckoned alongside such oaks in the Yeatsian forest as the tireless Yeats editor, A. Norman Jeffares, and Richard Ellman. Where the poet is concerned, he focuses on the life rather than the art. . . . And from Mr. Murphy there has come one of the finest biographies of the Yeatses."

ZAPPA, FRANK

Frank Zappa: The Negative Dialectics of Poodle Play. Ben Watson. New York: St. Martin's, 1995. 570 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Peter Keepnews. *New York Times Book Review,* June 11, 1995: 34.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Mr. Watson combines analyses of Zappa's recordings—all of them, including some that have never been officially released—with snippets of biography, excerpts from previously published interviews and huge gusts of opinion (the subject of which is usually, but not always, Frank Zappa). His book is by turns informative, provocative, perceptive, reverential, ponderously argumentative (hence 'Negative Dialectics') and deliberately silly (hence 'Poodle Play'). Sometimes it is simply wrong—especially at those moments when Mr. Watson, who is English, wrestles with a reference to American politics or popular culture and just doesn't get it. And sometimes it is distinctly off the wall. . . . But it is the closest reading Zappa is likely to get, and as such it is welcome."

ZOLA, EMILE

Zola: A Life. Frederick Brown. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995. 888 pp. $37.50.

Reviewed by Geoffrey Strickland. *New York Times Book Review,* June 4, 1995: 10.

"Even so comprehensive a biography leaves, inevitably, hostages to fortune. Zola was a gifted amateur photographer, and the omission from this copiously illustrated volume of some of his best photographs is a loss. There are inevitable slips in translations from Zola's prose—though they are minor, and it calls for exceptional linguistic skills, in any case, to render Zola's unique combination of classical elegance and raunchy wit."

Collections, Group Biographies, and Works of Related Interest

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Language of Autobiography. John Sturrock. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. 296 pp. £ 35.

Reviewed by Maurice Couturier. *Etudes Anglaises,* Jan.–Mar. 1995: 76.

John Sturrock proposed "that the autobiographer be seen . . . as both the transgressor of certain norms of society, and as the licensed apologist for his transgression." Unfortunately for the coherence of the definition, autobiography is not the only genre by which this purgation can be achieved (essays can do that), and on the other hand, some autobiographies (e.g., Nabokov's poetic *explanation* of his past) are *not justifications* of some poetic transgressions.

CIVIL WAR LIVES

Marching Through Georgia: The Story of Soldiers and Civilians During Sherman's Campaign. Less L. Kennett. New York: HarperCollins, 1995. 418 pp. $27.50.

Reviewed by Gary W. Gallagher. *New York Times Book Review,* April 16, 1995: 23.

"'Marching Through Georgia' is a work of impressive scholarship about soldiers at war and civilians caught in their path. By spending time with 'captains and privates and civilians with obscure names and destinies,' Mr. Kennett says, we come closest to the war's quintessence—wrenching human experience whose components are suffering and destitution, despair and death; but also humanity and generosity, courage and endurance."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JAPANESE DIARISTS

Modern Japanese Diaries: The Japanese at Home and Abroad Through Their Diaries. Donald Keene. New York: Holt, 1995. 534 pp. $50.00.

Reviewed by Marian Ury. *New York Times Book Review,* April 2, 1995: 20.

"'Modern Japanese Diaries' is a collection of 30 essays that Mr. Keene originally published in Japanese in the Tokyo newspaper *Asahi Shimbun.* The book begins where his earlier volume on pre-modern diaries, 'Travelers of a Hundred Ages,' leaves off. . . . In each chapter, Mr. Keene provides a narrative of the events in the diarist's life that the work illuminates with quotations from that work in passing."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Index: Volume XVIII, 1995

ARTICLES

Bergeron, David M. "Masculine Interpretation of Queen Anne, Wife of James I." 18.1 (Winter): 42–54.

Donoghue, Frank. "Laurence Sterne and the Fantasy of Individual Patronage." 18.2 (Spring): 97–116.

Dubé, Pierre H. "Chateaubriand and Gérard." 18.3 (Summer): 228–240.

Epstein, William H. "Embodied Knowing." 18.3 (Summer): 254–258.

Felix, David. "Marx and Keynes: The Primacy of Politics." 18.3 (Summer): 219–227.

Helms, Gabriele. "The Coincidence of Biography and Autobiography: Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*." 18.4 (Fall): 339–359.

Hutch, Richard A. "A Response." 18.3 (Summer): 259–260.

"In Memoriam: Ruth Renée Heyum." 18.2 (Spring): 95–96.

Johnson, George M. "'The Caged Skylark': A Psychobiographical Portrait of G. M. Hopkins." 18.2 (Spring): 134–157.

Jordan, Polly Carver. "Biography About Children for Children." 18.1 (Winter): 55–64.

Lambert, Carole J. "Postmodern Biography: Lively Hypotheses and *Dead Certainties*." 18.4 (Fall): 305–327.

Peeples, Scott. "Life Writing/Death Writing: Biographical Versions of Poe's Final Hours." 18.4 (Fall): 328–338.

Rintala, Marvin. "Weber's Wilson: Living Off Political Science." 18.3 (Summer): 189–218.

Saunders, Malcolm. "An Australian Pacifist: The Reverend Dr. Charles Strong, 1844–1942." 18.3 (Summer): 241–253.

Shuffelton, Frank. "Being Definitive: Jefferson Biography Under the Shadow of Dumas Malone." 18.4 (Fall): 291–304.

Singer, Barnett. "Colonial Background and Leadership in World War I: The Tragic Case of Gallieni." 18.1 (Winter): 1–30.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Strickland, Margot. "Ghosting an Autobiography." 18.1 (Winter): 65–68.
Sullivan, Sherry E. "Management's Unsung Theorist: An Examination of the Works of Lillian M. Gilbreth." 18.1 (Winter): 31–41.
Wachter, Phyllis E. "Bibliography of Works About Life-Writing." 18.4 (Fall): 360–368.
Warms, Richard L. "Africa Real, Africa Ideal: A. Gordon Laing and the Noble Savage." 18.2 (Spring): 117–133.

REVIEWS

Amigoni, David. *Victorian Biography: Intellectuals and the Ordering of Discourse* (reviewed by Valerie Sanders). 18.2 (Spring): 158–160.
Buss, Helen M. *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* (reviewed by Robert Thacker). 18.1 (Winter): 69–72.
Eakin, Paul John. *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography* (reviewed by J. P. Roos). 18.3 (Summer): 261–264.
Elms, Alan C. *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology* (reviewed by Amia Lieblich). 18.3 (Summer): 264–265.
Karcher, Carolyn L. *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (reviewed by Wendy Hamand Venet). 18.4 (Fall): 373–375.
Mahoney, Michael Sean. *The Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat, 1601–1665.* (reviewed by Forrest R. Pitts). 18.4 (Fall): 371–373.
Nalbantian, Suzanne. *Aesthetic Autobiography: From Life to Art in Marcel Proust, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Anaïs Nin* (reviewed by Susan Pavloska). 18.3 (Summer): 265–267.
Prieberg, Fred K. *Trial of Strength: Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Third Reich* (reviewed by William Scherer). 18.4 (Fall): 376–377.
"Reviewed Elsewhere" (prepared by Contributing Book Review Editors). 18.1 (Winter): 79–90; 18.2 (Spring): 161–187; 18.3 (Summer): 268–280; 18.4 (Fall): 378–399.
Rollyson, Carl. *Biography: An Annotated Bibliography* (reviewed by Carol Morris Petillo) 18.1 (Winter): 76–78.
Smith, Sidonie and Julia Watson, eds. *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography* (reviewed by Joy Logan). 18.1 (Winter): 72–76.
Stanley, Liz. *The auto/biographical I* (reviewed by J. P. Roos). 18.3 (Summer): 261–264.
Wagner-Martin, Linda. *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography* (reviewed by Annette Wheeler Cafarelli). 18.4 (Fall): 369–371.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Notes on Contributors

Annette Wheeler Cafarelli (review of Wagner-Martin, *Telling Women's Lives*) is Associate Professor in the Department of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University, and author of *Prose in the Age of the Poets: Romanticism and Biographical Narrative.*

Gabriele Helms ("The Coincidence of Biography and Autobiography: Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*") is a Ph.D. student at the University of British Columbia, where she is currently writing her dissertation on dialogism in contemporary Canadian fiction. Her research interests also include the Victorian Period and auto/biographical writing.

Carole J. Lambert ("Postmodern Biography: Lively Hypotheses and *Dead Certainties*") is the author of *The Empty Cross: Medieval Hopes, Modern Futility in the Theater of Maurice Maeterlinck, Paul Claudel, August Strindberg, and Georg Kaiser.* She received her Ph.D. in comparative literature from the University of California, Berkeley, taught literature and served as Director of the Honors Program at Azusa Pacific University, and currently teaches writing courses at Boston University.

Scott Peeples ("Life Writing/Death Writing: Biographical Versions of Poe's Final Hours") is Assistant Professor of English at Niagara University. He is working on a book-length study of Poe.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

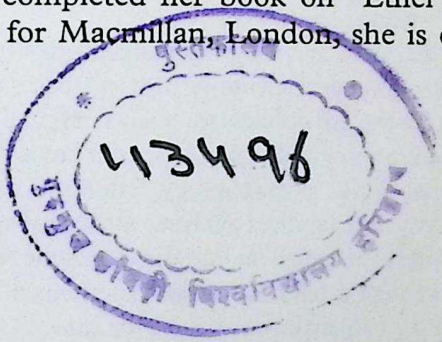
Forrest R. Pitts (review of Mahoney, *Mathematical Career of Pierre de Fermat*) is Professor Emeritus of Geography, University of Hawai'i.

William F. Scherer (review of Prieberg, *Trial of Strength*) is Associate Professor of German, University of Hawai'i.

Frank Shuffelton ("Being Definitive: Jefferson Biography Under the Shadow of Dumas Malone"), Professor of English, University of Rochester, has written a biography of the American Puritan, Thomas Hooker, and more recently has published two bibliographies of writings about Thomas Jefferson from his death through 1990.

Wendy Hamand Venet (review of Karcher, *First Woman in the Republic*) is Assistant Professor of History, Georgia State University, and the author of *Neither Ballots nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists in the Civil War* (1991).

Phyllis E. Wachter ("Bibliography of Works About Life-Writing") is awaiting the republication of Ethel Arnold's novel *Platonics: A Study* (1894) for which she has written the introduction. Once she has completed her book on "Ethel Arnold: New Victorian Woman" for Macmillan, London, she is contemplating a career change.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A New Edition of an Important Biographical Reference

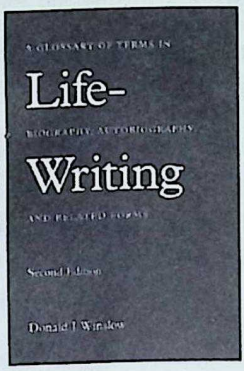
Life-Writing

A Glossary of Terms in Biography, Autobiography, and Related Forms

SECOND EDITION

Donald J. Winslow

Published in association with the Center for Biographical Research, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and the University of Hawai'i Press



Like its predecessor, this second edition of the Glossary fills a need for a succinct, lucidly written reference list of British and American terms used in connection with biography, autobiography, and other branches of life-writing. Donald Winslow has altered or added to the two hundred or so earlier definitions while including more than a hundred new terms. Since the publication of the first edition in 1980, the field of life-writing has grown at a rapid rate. Accordingly Winslow has expanded the bibliography to include many carefully chosen works on life-writing.

The collection is arranged alphabetically, with definitions and illustrative references to life-writers and their subjects from earliest times to the present. All definitions, many not found in ordinary dictionaries, are related to biographical forms, with cross references throughout. Such diverse topics as chronology, feminism, widows and wills, anecdotes, and psychoanalytical analyses are all to be found in these pages. *Life-Writing* is an excellent introduction to the subject for the beginner and a convenient reference for the experienced biographer as well as those wishing to learn how to handle the study of roots and popular biography.

1995, 88 pages, ISBN 0-8248-1713-3, $13.00, paper

To order the new edition of *Life-Writing*: Send check or VISA/Mastercard information (include account number, expiration date, and signature). Shipping in US: $3.00 for the first book and $1.00 each additional; foreign shipping: $4.00 for the first book and $2.00 each additional.

HAWAI'I

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I PRESS

2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822-1888
Phone: 800-956-2840 FAX: 800-650-7811

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

0.1C
3/3/97
113496

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Compiled
1998-2000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar